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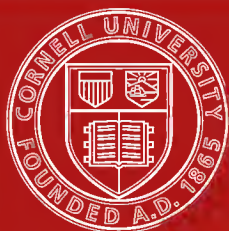
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No. 22

ENGLISH GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

IN THE

REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

BY

A. Monroe Stowe

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INTRODUCTION

The history of English secondary education in the sixteenth century reveals two movements, one of destruction, the other of reconstruction. The former movement reached its climax in the destruction of the monasteries,¹ guilds, and chantries,² since with these there perished a very large number of the institutions of English secondary education. But before this climax had been reached, the latter movement had exhibited itself in the foundation of such schools as St. Paul's³ and the City Grammar School of Bristol.⁴ While the former movement was spending itself, the latter continued to grow. Close upon the destruction of the monasteries and their schools followed the refoundation of the cathedrals and the cathedral schools by Henry VIII.,⁵ while simultaneously with the destruction of the guild and chantry schools occurred the foundation of increasing numbers of independent schools.⁶

It is with these independent schools as they existed in the reign of Elizabeth that the present study is concerned, since it is hoped that through the study of the facts concerning their foundation and support, their government, their teaching staff, their curricula, and the school life of their pupils there may result not only a description of the schools as they existed at that period,⁷ but also the discovery of at least some of the chief characteristics of the education and educational institutions of this reconstructive movement in the English secondary education of the Elizabethan period.

¹ The lesser monasteries were suppressed in 1536; the greater abbeys in 1539. As to the importance of the education furnished by the monasteries at this time, there is considerable difference of opinion. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, p. 19, is inclined to rate the educational influence of the monasteries very low, while Brown in his *Study of the English Grammar Schools before the Reformation* believes that Leach has underestimated their influence.

² For discussion cf. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, 34-55, 58-73.

³ Cf. Carlisle, ii., 70ff; also, St. Paul's in the various School Histories given in Bibliography.

⁴ Cf. Bristol, *City Grammar School*, Appendix A.

⁵ Cf. Leach, *loc. cit.* 58.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 78ff.

⁷ The treatment will be "cross sectional" rather than "longitudinal;" no effort has been made to trace in the sequence of events of our period the interaction of cause and effect. The period has been studied rather as a static whole than as a dynamic unit.

CHAPTER I

FOUNDATION AND SUPPORT

The subject of the present chapter will be considered from the following points of view: (1) number of schools founded during the reign of Queen Elizabeth; (2) types of foundation (a) with respect to founder and (b) with respect to character of endowment; (3) motives of founders; (4) relation of schools to charity.

THE PROBLEM OF THE NUMBER OF SCHOOLS FOUNDED (1558-1603)

The impossibility of obtaining the necessary data makes the solution of this problem not only difficult but very probably impossible. Leach has shown how hopeless is the inquiry into the number of schools founded in the reign of Edward VI.¹ In dealing with each case one is never quite sure whether it is one of foundation or refoundation,—whether or not a school existed in the place previous to the date under consideration. The number of letters patent granted to schools cannot be taken as representing the number of schools founded, since they were issued in not a few cases in favor of schools already in existence or of schools to take the places of those destroyed with the monasteries, guilds, or chantries.² Notwithstanding the difficulties various attempts have been made to estimate the number of schools founded during the reign of Elizabeth. M. Jacques Parmentier³ is quoted by Leach⁴ as crediting this reign with the foundation of 150 grammar schools; de Montmorency gives the number as 148 schools founded and 34 addi-

¹ *English Schools at the Reformation*, 2-7. He calls attention to the very divergent results of attempts to fix any definite number. Thus Strype gives the number as 22, Green as 18, Mr. J. Bass Mullinger as 33, and M. Jacques Parmentier as 44, and others as 51 and 82.

² *Vide* Blackburn, Faversham, Grantham, Old Maldon, and other similar cases quoted in Appendix A.

³ *Histoire de l'Education en Angleterre* (Perrin & Cie., Paris, 1896).

⁴ *English Schools at the Reformation*, 4.

tionally endowed,⁶ while Adams⁶ places the number at 137, the number given in the Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission.⁷ This latter cannot be taken as representing the number of places in which schools first came into existence in this reign, since the data collected in Appendix A shows that in 33 of these cases schools existed previous to 1558.⁸ An estimate based upon the authorities quoted in Appendix A would place the number at about 78, but even such a moderate estimate would not be free from the objections raised above. Considering the material contained in Appendix A from another point of view, there are 135 schools concerning which our information dates back only as far as the reign of Elizabeth.⁹ Considering the material from still another point of view, it will be noted that there are 78 cases of "foundation", 32 of letters patent granted in favor of schools, 12 of letters patent granted to schools already in existence, 6 of letters patent confirming and enlarging previous charters, and two known cases of refoundation. While these figures are of little value in the solution of the problem before us, they do have positive value in that

⁵ *The Progress of Education in England*, 42.

⁶ *History of the Elementary School Contest in England*, 18.

⁷ Vol. 1., App. 48-57.

⁸ The list contains the following places: Hartlebury, Bangor, Bristol, Godmanchester, High Wycombe, Darlington, Netherbury, Thetford, Keswick or Crosthwaite Burford, Coventry, Eye, Bedford, Faversham, Colchester, Topcliffe, Halsall (not included in App.), Stainmore, Wellingborough, Bedale, Bodmin, Fotheringay, Leyland, Nantwich, Penryn, Ashburton, Biddenden, Bromyard, Cheltenham, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, St. Albans, Wakefield, Normanton. Since the list given in the Report includes three schools in Wales, Presteign, Caemarthens, and Ruthin, which are not included in the scope of our inquiry, the balance left is, therefore, 101.

⁹ The list of these schools would include the 101 cases given by the Schools Inquiry Commission (*cf. supra* footnote 8), 5 cases of "foundation" (Aylesbury, East Adderbury, Gravesend, Northleach, Rothwell), given in Appendix A, and 29 cases of schools concerning which information dates back only to the reign of Elizabeth (Barnestaple, Berwick-upon-Tweed (three schools), Cambridge, Chipping Norton, Coleshill, Gillingham, Godmanchester, Greenwich, Hadleigh, Hoddesdon, Ilkley, Lavenham, Lichfield, Little Walsingham, Maldon, Market Bosworth, Martley, Norfolk, Ratcliffe Risley, Rochester, Saffron Walden, Saint Giles, Scarbrough, Stow-on-the-Wold, Wethersfield, Wigan) also contained in Appendix A.

they indicate very clearly a genuine interest in secondary education, an interest which showed itself in the foundation and improvement of the institutions of that education.

Somewhat related to the problems just discussed is that of the number of schools of which there is record during the period under study. Lee¹⁰ emphatically asserts that the number of schools at this time was less than 200. That he underestimated the number is conclusively shown by the material contained in Appendix A which includes 281 schools concerning which our information dates back to this reign, 51 schools concerning which data are lacking for the exact years under study but are given for those closely preceding or following, 9 schools whose existence between 1558-1603 is more doubtful, and 2 schools founded in the reign of Elizabeth but actually begun later.¹¹ These figures¹² indicate that by the close of the reign of Elizabeth the number of schools at the time of the Reformation had been equaled if not surpassed.¹³ Thus in the rapid growth of the grammar schools of this period is to be seen the expression of the interest in secondary education.

TYPES OF FOUNDATION

As the interest in secondary education thus expressed in the foundation and improvement of grammar schools was manifested by the Crown, guilds, cities, parishes, and private individuals, the types of foundation considered from the point of view of the founders may be classified as Royal, Guild, City or Corporation, Parish, and Private Foundations.

Royal Foundations.—While the Queen may or may not have actually founded the twenty-five schools with which Adams

¹⁰ *The Church under Elizabeth*, ii., 113.

¹¹ Harrow and Blechinglen (*cf. infra.*, p. 23, footnote 107)

¹² They also agree very well with the information contained in following quotation from Harrison's *Description of England*, Bk. II. Chapt. iii., p. 83. ".....so there are not manie corporat townes now under the queenes dominion, that hain not one grammar school at the least," since he gives the number of cities as 26 (p. 244) and the number of market towns as from 300 to 400 (p. 259).

¹³ Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, 6, gives the known number of schools as 200, and estimates the probable number at 300.

credits her,¹⁴ yet she was directly or indirectly concerned with a large enough number of foundations and improvements to make certain the interest of the Crown in secondary education. This interest, however, was not always spontaneous, since in some cases it had to be awakened by petitions addressed to the Queen by those interested in the particular projects for schools. Thus in Faversham the inhabitants, after an unsuccessful attempt to have their school refounded in the reign of Henry VIII., successfully petitioned the Queen when, in 1576, she spent two nights in the town.¹⁵ Nor was the foundation of a school always the primary matter in the letters patent. Thus in the case of Bridgwater the great and small tithes of the parish were granted to certain persons for a long term of years subject to a number of conditions among which was the payment of a charge of £6 13s. 4d. per annum for the support of a schoolmaster.¹⁶ Nor was the Royal foundation always a strictly new grant; sometimes it was but a transfer of grants. Thus in the case of Salisbury the school was founded by discontinuing schools at Bradford and Trowbridge and transferring their annuities to the new foundation.¹⁷

¹⁴ Adams, *History of the Elementary School Contest in England*, 18. His figures are from the S. I. C., i., Appendix, 48-57. The data contained in Appendix A would throw suspicion on four of the cases given in the Report, High Wycombe, Darlington, Chipping Barnet, and Ashborne, while a fifth case is one of a Welsh school, Caemarthens.

¹⁵ Carlisle, i., 574; also Edward Jacob, *The History of Faversham in the County of Kent*, 54. The school was to replace the one suppressed with the Abbey soon after 1527. Cf. cases of Halifax, Mansfield, Ashborne, Kingston-upon-Thames and others given in Appendix A.

¹⁶ Letters Patent, 1561. C. C. R. xv., 424.

¹⁷ Letters Patent, 1569, C. C. R. xxvi., 366. The Royal annuity at Bradford had been £10 12s. 7d. and at Trowbridge, £15 9s. 1d. These schools were discontinued on the grounds that there was no need of schools in these places since they were "upland towns of but few people, not a resort of gentlemen or merchants." The money thus obtained was to be used to pay the salaries of the master and usher at Salisbury, while the Corporation was to furnish house and rooms. Another consolidation of funds occurred in the case of Pontefract (decree of the Duchy Court of Lancaster, 1583, C. C. R. xxxii., pt. 2., 811) where the royal annuities of four towns not above eight miles distance from Pontefract (Carlton, £5 4s.; Crofton, £4 3s. 11d.; Bolton-upon-Derne, £4 13s. 4d.; Royston, £4 6s. 11d.) were combined with that of Pontefract 59s. 7d. for payment of the salaries of the master and usher at Pontefract, and the schools continued by commissioners in those towns were discontinued on account of the smallness of salary.

Guild Foundation.—The chief and only guild foundation mentioned in our material is that of the Merchant Taylors School founded by the Merchant Taylors Corporation.¹⁸ There were other Guild schools¹⁹ but these were founded by private individuals, who, however, were usually members of the guild to which they deeded their schools.²⁰

City Foundations and Endowments.—The cities in their corporate capacity were interested in the founding and improvement of the grammar schools. According to an indenture between the Queen and the Mayor and Comburgesses of Leicester²¹ the Corporation was to pay to Her Majesties Receiver of the Duchy of Lancaster £35 for all the lead, stones, and timber in and about the decayed church of St. Peter which they were to use in the construction of a school house which was to be completed within a year after the execution of the deed; the Corporation was also bound to repair the school house when in need thereof.²² The Corporation of Richmond appropriated lands for the support of their school.²³ On July 18, 1562, the Mayor, Bailiffs and Burgesses of Wycombe deeded to the Queen a hospital and land belonging to it together with the "Lady Rents" which had belonged to the Fraternity of the Blessed Mary in order that Elizabeth might by letters patent regrant to the Corporation the said hospital, lands, and rents, on condition that the revenues of the same should be applied towards the support and maintenance of a school and four poor persons.²⁴ Concerning the foundation of the school at Sandwich we have the following account in the words of the Records of the Corporation:

"21st. may 5th. Elizabeth.

"It was moved by the maior what a godly acte and worthie of memorye yt shuld be to make and fownd a free schoole within the towne for the godly educacion of children in the knowledge

¹⁸ Carlisle, ii., 49.

¹⁹ Cf. *Infra* p. 32ff.

²⁰ Cf. *Infra* 15, footnote. 33.

²¹ April 7, 1573. James Thompson, *The History of Leicester*, 259.

²² The responsibility of building and keeping the school in repair was not infrequently assumed by the towns.

²³ 1566-67. S.I.C. xviii., 562.

²⁴ Letters Patent issued July 21 1562. Parker, *Early History and Antiquities of Wycombe*, 144.

and feare of God, and that God therefor wold blesse the towen the better; and required therefore, that euery inhabitant within this towen wold consyder so good an acte and to knowe what euery man wold willengly give thereto; and that he and his brethern as they did judge that a very godly work so thei wold lardgely give of their porcions that the same might be stablished; which said mocion liked well all men. And so with one consent they offeryd to giue euery man for the same worke according to their abillytye as followythe, viz." Ten Jurats subscribed amounts varying from £6 13s. 4d. to £20; 34 in the Common Council gave subscriptions varying from £10 to £12; these sums together with the contributions from the wards amounted to a total of £286 7s. 2d.²⁵

Parish Foundations.—Most of the schools recorded in Appendix A as having been founded by subscription were probably founded by parishes as was the case in St. Savior where the grammar school was erected by the parishioners before 1562 when they applied for a charter.²⁶

Private Foundation.—The case of Sandwich quoted above is²⁷ interesting in that it shows how private individuals united with corporations in the founding of schools. The subscription mentioned was raised for the purpose of building a school house under promise of Mr. Roger Manwood to endow the school with lands the revenues of which would be sufficient to maintain the school and pay the salary of the master. But persons of greater note than Manwood became interested in the foundation of this school. Archbishop Parker, who happened to be in the neighborhood at the time, became interested in the project and showed his interest by applying to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury for a grant of a piece of land, which belonged to their church, for the site of the school, and by writing to his friend Cecil, who was then Secretary, to use his influence in procuring from the Queen her license for the endowment and foundation of the school.²⁸ The license to erect a

²⁵ Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 199.

²⁶ Carlisle, ii., 583.

²⁷ A similar case of co-operation occurred at Northleach where the founder provided in his will "that the said town of Northleach shall prepare a house convenient for the schoolhouse and schollmaster meet and necessarie for that purpose or else the school shall not be then." 1559. S.I.C. xv. 93.

free school in Sandwich was granted to Manwood who is regarded as the founder of the school.²⁸

Included in the list of private founders and benefactors of the grammar schools of this period are the names of men in a large number of the trades and professions of the middle and upper classes.²⁹ Yeomen³⁰ and gentlemen,³¹ schoolmasters³² and guild members,³³ nobility³⁴ and clergy³⁵ from vicar to archbishop, all, women³⁶ as well as men, showed a practical interest in secondary education by assisting in the foundation and improvement of its institutions. Indeed, when compared with the two reigns preceding the one under study, it will be noted that percentage of royal foundations is lower and that of private foundations much higher.

Before proceeding to the discussion of the next division of our topic "Types of Foundations, Classified according to the

²⁸ Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 199. Cf. also Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, iv., 432.

²⁹ The illustrations given in the following seven footnotes are quoted from Appendix A. To assist in finding names there, each name is followed by the name of the town under which it is to be found.

³⁰ E.g. John Lyon, Harrow; John Hurrox, Moulton.

³¹ E.g. John Hanson, Andover; Wm. Littlebury, Dedham; Wm. Lamb, Sutton Valence; Thomas Eggescliffe, Yarm.

³² Bequest given by schoolmaster at Warwick.

³³ E.g. John Royse, Citizen and Mercer of London, Abingdon; Rich. Platt, Brewer of London, Aldenham; W. Parker, Woolen Draper of London, Daventry; John Fox, Goldsmith, Dean; Lawrence Sheriff, Citizen and Grocer of London, Rugby; Peter Blundell, Clothier, Tiverton.

³⁴ E.g. Sir Henry Lee, Aylesbury; Sir Wm. Harpur, Bedford; Robt. Earl of Leicester, Chipping Barnet; Sir Rowland Hill, Drayton in Hales; Sir Roger Cholmely, Highgate; Edward, Lord Clynton and Saye, great admiral of England, Horncastle; Sir Wolston Dixie, Market Bosworth; Lord Williams of Thame, Thame; Sir Richard Fulmerston, Thetford.

³⁵ E.g. Rev. Wm. Willan, Vicar, Crosby Ravensworth; Richard Midgley, Vicar, Rochdale; Christopher Rawlins, B. D., East Adderbury; Rev. Thos. Moyntforth, Pocklington; Robt. Johnson, Archdeacon of Leicester, Oakham and Uppingham; Dean Nowell, Middleton; Rev. Robt. Pursglove, Tideswell and Guisbrough; Rev. Bernard Gilpin, Houghton le Spring; Bishop of Durham, (1567) Darlington and (1566) Rivington; Archbishop Parker, Rochdale; Archbishop Grindal, Highgate and St. Bees.

³⁶ E.g. Mrs. Margaret Dane, Bishop Stortford; Elizabeth Burbank, Burton-Latimer; Elizabeth Paulett, Burton; Dame Mary Ramsay, Halsted.

Character of the Endowment," let us note briefly some of the privileges granted to the founders of schools.

Among these privileges was the honor of having the name of the founder perpetuated in the name of the school. Thus the school in Faversham was called "The Free School of Elizabeth, Queen of England, in Faversham;"³⁷ the school of the Merchant Taylors, London, was called after that company; the school in St. Savior was to be known as "The Free Grammar School of the Parishioners of the Parish of St. Savior in Southwark;"³⁸ while the school in Sandwich was to be called, "The Free Grammar School of Roger Manwood in Sandwich,"³⁹ that in Market Bosworth, "The School of Wolston Dixie, Knight, in Market Bosworth in the County of Leicester,"⁴⁰ that in Hawkeshead, "The Free Grammar Schole of Edwyn Sands Archbishops of Yorke in Hawkeshead,"⁴¹ and that in St. Bees, "The Free Grammar School of Edmund Grindall, Archbishop of Canterbury." One cannot, however, safely infer from the name of the school that of the founder, for the schools at Ashborne⁴² and Chipping Barnet⁴³ were named after the Queen though there is reason to believe they were not founded by her;⁴⁴ the school at Alford was to be called, "The Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth," although she contributed nothing;⁴⁵ the school at Cranbrook was commonly called, "Queen Elizabeth's Free and Perpetual Grammar School," although it was founded by Simon Lynch;⁴⁷ while on the other hand the school at Richmond founded by Elizabeth was to be known by the name of its governors, as the "Free Grammar School of the Burgesses of the borough or town of Richmond."⁴⁸

The power to make and change the statutes of the school was not infrequently given to the founder. Thus in the

³⁷ Letters Patent, 1576, Carlisle, i., 574.

³⁸ Letters Patent, 1562, *Ibid* ii., 583.

³⁹ Letters Patent, 1563, Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 199.

⁴⁰ Letters Patent, 1601, Carlisle, i., 753.

⁴¹ Founder's Statutes, 1588, Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 472.

⁴² 1583, Carlisle, i., 152.

⁴³ Letters Patent, 1585, *Ibid*, i., 207.

⁴⁴ Letters Patent, 1573, *Ibid*, i., 531.

⁴⁵ Cf. *supra* 12, footnote 14.

⁴⁶ Letters Patent, 1576, *Ibid*, i., 780.

⁴⁷ 1574, *Ibid*, i., 571.

⁴⁸ Letters Patent, 1566-7, S.I.C. xviii., 562.

cases of Sandwich,⁴⁹ Hawkeshead,⁵⁰ St. Bees,⁵¹ Kirby Stephen,⁵² and Witton⁵³ the founders possessed and exercised this important power.

A power not less important than the one just noted was that of appointment of the teaching staff,⁵⁴ a power which was often given to the founder and not infrequently extended to his heirs. Thus, in Kirby Stephen,⁵⁵ Hawkeshead,⁵⁶ Highgate,⁵⁷ and St. Bees⁵⁸ the power to appoint the master was given or assumed by the founder, while in Felsted,⁵⁹ Guisbrough,⁶⁰ Daventry,⁶¹ Marlborough,⁶² Nantwich,⁶³ and Redgrave,⁶⁴ the privilege was extended to the heirs of the founder. Related to this power was that of appointment of the governors of the school, a privilege assumed by the founder of the school at Guisbrough.⁶⁵ In two other cases the heirs of the founder were to take part in the government of the school,—in Witton⁶⁶ they were to be 'preferred as governors,' while in Thetford⁶⁷ they were given the government and management of the school.

There are also several cases of privileges granted to the kinsfolk or heirs of the founder. Thus, in Witton the kinsfolk of the founder were to be taught freely and were, if fit, to be pre-

⁴⁹ Statutes quoted in Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 231.

⁵⁰ Statutes quoted in Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 483.

⁵¹ Statutes quoted in Carlisle, i., 153-161.

⁵² Statutes quoted in Carlisle, ii., 714-720.

⁵³ Statutes quoted in Carlisle, i., 129-134.

⁵⁴ Cf. *infra*. 62.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* Also had power to appoint and remove usher and to fix salary of staff. Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 480.

⁵⁷ Letters Patent, 1565, Carlisle, ii., 162. Also had power to fix stipend of master.

⁵⁸ Letters Patent, 1583, Carlisle, i., 152.

⁵⁹ Founder's Statutes, 1564, Carlisle, i., 432. Also had power of appointment and dismissal of usher. C.C.R. xxix., pt. 1, 206.

⁶⁰ Founder's Statutes, 1561, C.C.R. viii., 725.

⁶¹ Deed, 1576, C.C.R. xiii., 10.

⁶² Waylen, *Marlborough*, 464.

⁶³ Hall, *Nantwich*, 374.

⁶⁴ Statutes, 1561, C.C.R. xxii., 150.

⁶⁵ Founder's Statutes, 1561, C.C.R. viii., 725.

⁶⁶ Founder's Statutes, 1558, Carlisle, i., 133-134.

⁶⁷ Carlisle, ii., 191.

ferred as masters;⁶⁸ in Normanton ⁶⁹ and Great Bardfield the founder's kin were always to be admitted as free scholars;⁷⁰ while in Burford the heirs of the founder were, after his death, to have the privilege of electing four scholars known as "Wisdom's scholars" who were to pay nothing but the admission fee.⁷¹

TYPES OF FOUNDATIONS, SOURCES OF SUPPORT

It is very probable that the majority of the schools of the period under study were supported either by annuities or by incomes from estates with which they were endowed.⁷² The annual value of the annuities ranged from £3 4s. 11d. to £38 13s. 4d.,⁷³ while that of income from estates varied from £10 to £45 7s. 6d.⁷⁴ There seems to be no correlation between either of these chief sources of support and either royal or private foundation, although it appears that the Crown favored the granting of annuities while a large number of private individuals left estates to the schools. The annuities granted by the Crown were paid from the royal revenues, while those left by individuals were paid from the income of estates held in trust. From the standpoint of the schools there is no doubt as to which was the better source of income, the annuity or the rent charge. History has proved that the latter is by far superior to the former, for while annuities of sufficient amount to maintain the schools in the 16th century have, by reason of the depreciation in the value of money, become insufficient and thereby caused the schools either to cease their existence or degenerate into elementary schools, lands, which then yielded an income just sufficient to maintain a master, increased in value until now some of the grammar schools of England are more wealthy than many of our American colleges.⁷⁵ The importance of investing

⁶⁸ Carlisle, i., 132.

⁶⁹ 1594, S.I.C., xviii., 190.

⁷⁰ Founder's Will, 1584, S.I.C. xiii., 12.

⁷¹ Founder's Statutes, 1571, S.I.C. xii., 217, also Monk, *History of Burford*, 134. The names of the benefactors were to be written on a tablet placed in the schoolroom. The founder and his heirs exercised the privileges of visitor until 1743.—Monk, 134.

⁷² Cf. Appendixes B and C.

⁷³ Cf. Appendix B.

⁷⁴ Cf. Appendix C.

⁷⁵ A glance through Carlisle, *Endowed Grammar Schools*, will reveal the truth of this statement.

the funds of the school in land appears to have been recognized at that time. Thus, Archbishop Grindal left £500 to St. Bees with which to purchase land of the annual value of £30;⁷⁶ in Newcastle under Lyme £100 were left to purchase land,⁷⁷ while in Atherstone⁷⁸ and Tarvin⁷⁹ £200 were given to each of the schools for the same purpose; while in 1589 Blackburn purchased a rent charge of £20 per annum with sums received in endowments and by subscription.⁸⁰

A few schools derived their support from money put out at interest. Thus, one of the benefactors of the school at Alford left to the school 4-5 of the annual interest of £50;⁸¹ in Ashton-in-Makerfield the school received by indenture the interest of £60;⁸² while in Daresbury £160 were contributed by Richard Rider and others "to be let out to respectable inhabitants."⁸³ Other schools were supported by city corporations as in the cases of Doncaster⁸⁴ and Great Yarmouth,⁸⁵ while a few schools were partly supported by tuition and other fees.⁸⁶

Not uninteresting is the source of support in the cases of Manchester and St. Albans. In the former the school was supported by the proceeds from mills at which the inhabitants were compelled to grind their corn,⁸⁷ while in the latter the support of the school was provided for in the "Wine Charter"

⁷⁶ 1583, Carlisle, i., 162. The figures given in this case together with those given in the case of Kirkby Lonsdale (Appendix C, footnote 3) indicate the great value of some of the endowments given in Appendix C.

⁷⁷ Eliz., Carlisle, ii., 482.

⁷⁸ Before 1573, Carlisle ii., 615.

⁷⁹ S.I.C. xvii., 92.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 173.

⁸¹ Carlisle, i., 780.

⁸² 1588, S.I.C. xvii., 158.

⁸³ *Ibid*, 38.

⁸⁴ Tomlinson, *Doncaster from the Roman Occupation to the Present Time*, 44.

⁸⁵ School supported by a voluntary grant from the corporation funds S.I.C. xiii., 392. Liverpool likewise in 1566 in an assembly of the burgesses supplemented an endowment by the Queen by a voluntary assessment on the inhabitants from which was raised £5 13s. 4d. Picton, *City of Liverpool*, 104.

⁸⁶ Cf. Chapter III., p. 91ff.

⁸⁷ Cf. Green, *Town Life in the 15th Century*, Vol. ii., 17, where it is stated that the custom was continued until 1759.

The Court Leet Record, 11th April, 1577, treats the then present state of affairs in the following words:

obtained by Sir Nicholas Bacon from the Queen in favor of St. Albans.⁸⁸ The charter granted to the Mayor and Burgesses the power "of appointing and licensing Two discreet and honest Inhabitants within the Borough, to sell and utter there all manner of *Wine* by any measure to their best profit, and to keep one Wine Tavern each," and ordained that "within said Borough, under penalty of £20 for each offence, upon condition that the Mayor and Burgesses should cause the said sum of £20 to be annually paid to the School Master of the said Grammar School."⁸⁹

MOTIVES OF FOUNDERS

We have thus far noted (a) the existence of a widespread interest in secondary education during the reign of Elizabeth, (b) the classes of organizations and persons thus interested, and (c) the ways in which that interest was expressed. There remains to be discussed one other aspect of this interest, viz. its dynamic phase as exhibited in the motives which inspired the foundation and endowment of the grammar schools. The following statements of motives are typical:

(1) The schools at Uppingham and Oakham are reported by Camden as having been erected for "the training up of children in good literature."⁹⁰

"The Jurye doth presente yt whereas Duyze (diverse) orders heretofore made to thend the Inhabitants of the towne shoulde grynde y (their) greyne and cornes at ye Lords mylnes, Notwithstandinge many not regarding theire comon wealthe and good educatyon of theire children in ye said schoole, willfullye absente them selves, and grynde at other myllnes now to the great outhrowe (overthrow) of the said schoole, wch only ys founded and maynteyned by suche comoditye, as doth grow by the same, these therefore are to desyre all those yt doe absente them selves from the said Myllnes, yt they woulde bringe or cause to be broughte theire corne unto the same myllnes there to be groude (ground), and if defaulte be in the mylner, they shall haue recompence, as by the advyse of two honest men to be appoynted shalbe thoughte meete, and yf this or gentle request will not serve, then to thincke no uncurtesye, yf we use suche meanes, as we maye lawfully may, to compell them to the same."—*Court Leet Records of Manchester*, Vol. i., 186.

⁸⁸ Oxford, Cambridge, and St. Albans were the only towns privileged to retain the money from the issue of wine licenses.—Ashdown, *St. Albans*, 159.

⁸⁹ Charter, 1569, Carlisle, i., 509.

⁹⁰ *Britain*, 525.

(2) The petition of Kirby Lonsdale is based upon the desire to furnish an "education to the boys and youth living and abiding in the town and neighborhood."⁹¹

(3) "The promotion of good learning and education" is given as the motive in the case of Hexham.⁹²

(4) The school at Burford was founded in order "to keep the youth from spending their time idly and to teach them their duty."⁹³

(5) The school at Highgate was founded "for the education of poor boys."⁹⁴

(6) The object of the trust in the case of Ashby-de-la-Zouch was "the instruction of youths, infants, and little ones, in good manners, learning, knowledge and virtue."⁹⁵

(7) The school at Halifax was founded "for the continual bringing up, teaching, and learning of children and youth."⁹⁶

(8) Archbishop Parker founded the school at Rochdale in order that the youth of the parish might "be brought up in the learning of true piety and the Latin tongue."⁹⁷

(9) The motive of the founder of the school at Witton was "to increase knowledge and worshipping of God and our lord Jesus Christ and good Christian life and manners in children."⁹⁸ It is stated in greater detail in the following excerpt from the preamble of his statutes for the school: "Forasmuch as God's glory, his honor, and the wealth public, is advanced and maintained by no means more than by virtuous education and bringing up of Youth under such as be learned and virtuous Schoolmasters, whose good examples may as well instruct them to live well as their doctrine and learning may furnish their minds with knowledge and cunning, (I) have thought it good, not only to erect the said Free Grammar School, and to provide a reasonable and competent Stypend for the Schoolmaster of the same, and that in respect of the zeal that I have to God's glory, and for the love that I bear to my native country."⁹⁹

⁹¹ Letters Patent, 1591, S. I.C. xix., 368.

⁹² Letters Patent, 1599, S.I.C. xix., 110.

⁹³ Monk, *Burford*, 133.

⁹⁴ Letters Patent, 1565, Carlisle, ii., 162.

⁹⁵ Founder's Deed, 1567, S.I.C. xvi., 31.

⁹⁶ Letters Patent, 1585, Carlisle, ii., 808.

⁹⁷ Indenture, 1564, C.C.R. xix., 267.

⁹⁸ Founder's Statutes, 1558, Carlisle, i., 131.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 129.

(10) In 1571 the school at Seven Oaks received from one of its benefactors a tenement towards the "meyntenance of God's glory and the erudition and bringing up of the Pore Scollers of Sevenoke in virtuouse discipline, godly learninge, and good and civill manners."¹⁰⁰

(11) The motive for making the school at Newcastle-upon-Tyne a royal foundation is given in the following excerpt from the preamble to the letters patent: "Moreover, we have been revolving in our mind how much advantage would arise to the commonwealth of England, over which Almighty God has been pleased to place us, that youth should be well founded from their tenderest years in the rudiments of true religion and instructed in learning and good manners, we, etc. ordain, etc. one Free Grammar School in Newcastle upon Tyne."¹⁰¹

Four types of motives appear in the list just quoted, the moral and religious, the political, the educational, and the philanthropic. The moral and religious motive appears to have been very strong and influential. The religious motive had been the leading motive in the foundation of the chantries and their schools, but in the foundation of the new schools its character changed, its superstitious and selfish nature gave way to a more rational and unselfish spirit; the motive was no longer the salvation of the soul of the founder with those of his heirs by the chanting of prayers for them, but the salvation of the children through a more perfect knowledge of God and Christ¹⁰² and the development of strong moral character through precept and example.¹⁰³ The salvation of the children was recognized by a few as the salvation of the state, and the political motive when stated was the good of the commonwealth through the realization of the religious motive. The importance of secular education to the welfare of the state does not seem to have been perceived by the benefactors of the Elizabethan gram-

¹⁰⁰ Deed, 1571, Carlisle, i., 617.

¹⁰¹ Grace D. Rendel, *Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, 127. Cf. also John Brand, *The History and Antiquities of the Town and County of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, i., 88.

¹⁰² To be obtained from a study of the catechism and the dogmas of the Church of England.

¹⁰³ While this is true of the majority of cases, yet there were instances of founders ordaining that the masters and pupils should pray for their souls and the souls of those dear to them. Cf. *infra* 151, 153, footnote 141.

mar schools. The secular and religious were so closely related that they were hard to separate in the minds of the founders, but notwithstanding this there were a few cases in which the motive is furnished by the purely secular educational aim. Pervading almost all of the motives, however, was the philanthropic. There was the desire to aid those who were in need of aid, hence the foundation of so many schools for "poor scholars" who otherwise would have been compelled to go without the education which their benefactors thought necessary or good for them. This philanthropic spirit is expressed in the provisions made for charity. Indeed, one of the characteristic features of the education of this period was its close relation to charity and other humanitarian interests.

THE RELATION OF SCHOOLS TO CHARITY

In their foundation, support, and management or government, many of the schools and charities were closely related. In not a few cases the school was founded in connection with a charity. Thus, the school in Aldenham was founded simultaneously with six almshouses;¹⁰⁴ that in Croydon¹⁰⁵ and in Tadcaster¹⁰⁶ with a hospital, while the endowment for a school in Blechingley was appropriated to almshouses.¹⁰⁷

Schools and charities were often supported from the same funds. Thus, in the case of Kirby Stephen £26 13s. 4d. was to be expended annually in payment of the master's salary and in support of the poor and a mansion house;¹⁰⁸ in that of Huntingdon certain funds were to be used for the "maintenance and relief of poor people and for the support of a Free Grammar School,"¹⁰⁹ in that of Brentwood part of the land of the school was appropriated to the support of five alms people;¹¹⁰ in that of Wycombe the rents of a certain hospital were to be applied to the support of the school and of four poor persons,¹¹¹ in that

¹⁰⁴ Founder's Will, 1595, S.I.C. xii., 65.

¹⁰⁵ Letters Patent, 1599, C.C.R. xxx., 871.

¹⁰⁶ 1560, S.I.C. i., App. 48.

¹⁰⁷ School was not actually established until 1640 when its endowment was increased. S.I.C. xi., 155.

¹⁰⁸ Letters Patent, 1566, C.C.R. ix., 674.

¹⁰⁹ Commission of Charitable Uses, 1570, S.I.C. xii., 1570.

¹¹⁰ Deed, 1565, S.I.C. xiii., 17.

¹¹¹ Letters Patent, 1562, S.I.C. xii., 189.

of Cheltenham 4-5 of the gross revenues of the endowment were to go to the grammar school and a hospital for six poor people,¹¹² in that of Rugby four poor men were to be supported from the income of the school,¹¹³ while in that of New Woodstock £20 from an annuity of £100 were to be paid to the master while the remainder was to be devoted to the support of "Impotent Soldiers" in the Borough.¹¹⁴

The most vital relationship, however, existed in the management or government of some of the schools and charities, in which the same men were trustees or governors of both the school and the charity and were so incorporated. Thus, in the cases of Rugby,¹¹⁵ Thame,¹¹⁶ Aldenham,¹¹⁷ West Lavington,¹¹⁸ Stepney,¹¹⁹ and Cheltenham,¹²⁰ the governors of the school were at the same time governors of the particular charity, while in the cases of New Woodstock,¹²¹ High Wycombe,¹²² Bunbury,¹²³ Sherborne¹²⁴ and Worcester,¹²⁵ the governors of the school were incorporated as governors of both school and charity funds.¹²⁶ To a detailed study of these governing bodies let us now turn our attention.

¹¹² Founder's Deed, 1586, S.I.C. xv., 38.

¹¹³ Founder's Will, 1567, Staunton, 351.

¹¹⁴ 1599, Carlisle, ii., 322.

¹¹⁵ The trustees of the school were to build "four meete and distincte lodgings for foure poore men to be and abyde in," who were to be called the Almsmen of Lawrence Sheriff of London, Grocer, and were to have 7d. each per week toward his relief.—Staunton, 351-2. As a matter of fact they were quartered for many years in rooms partitioned off in the mansion house.—Rouse, *History of Rugby*, App. ii.

¹¹⁶ Cf. *infra* 30 (Thame).

¹¹⁷ Cf. *infra* 32 (Aldenham).

¹¹⁸ Cf. *infra* 32 (West Lavington). Five beadmen and two beadwomen provided with a room each and 10s. 10d. per quarter.—C.C.R. vi., 286-287.

¹¹⁹ Governors of school and almshouses, cf. *infra* 32 (Stepney).

¹²⁰ Cf. *infra* 31 (Cheltenham).

¹²¹ Cf. *supra* 24. Cf. also App. E, Woodstock.

¹²² Cf. Wycombe, *supra*, 23. Cf. also Appendix E.

¹²³ Governors incorporated for government of the school and the relief of the poor in the parish. C. C. R. x., 193. Cf. also App. F., *infra* 41 (Bunbury).

¹²⁴ Governors incorporated as governors of school and almshouse. Cf. App. F.

¹²⁵ Governors incorporated as "Governors and Supervisors of the Free School and Almshouses of Worcester." C.C.R. xix., 520. Cf. App. F.

¹²⁶ Cf. *infra* 31, footnote 30.

CHAPTER II

GOVERNMENT OF THE GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

At least three distinct types of government existed during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Certain schools were governed by non-incorporated trustees or feoffees, others by incorporated trustees, and still others by bodies of men especially incorporated as governors of the school. It is the purpose of the present chapter to treat each of these types with respect to their membership and internal organization, and their powers and duties.

I. GOVERNMENT BY FEOFFEES

This type of government is the one which is discovered in cases where the founder does not obtain letters patent of incorporation but simply deeds his property to certain men upon condition that they manage the property for the purpose of supporting the school. The number of men thus enfeoffed varied from two to twenty-seven.¹ They were chosen chiefly from the middle and upper classes, including in their number yeomen, gentlemen, and in one instance at least, a Chief Justice of England.² While the original body was chosen by the founder or benefactor, provision was generally made for the enfeoffment of new members to take the place of those taken away by death or removal from the locality. A study of these provisions will also reveal a number of qualifications of members of various bodies.

The time at which this new enfeoffment should take place varied. In Ashby de la Zouch, within six months after the number had been reduced to six, the survivors were "by writing or Indenture Tripartite to re-enfeoff the six and eight others."³ In Tiverton a new enfeoffment was to occur whenever the number

¹ Cf. Appendix D.

² Sir Frauncis Popham, Chief Justice of England, was appointed one of the feoffees at Tiverton. Included in this original body also were two infant members, sons of two of the relations of the benefactor, who were thus included because he did not wish to run the risk of their not being subsequently elected. Carlisle, i., 341.

³ Carlisle, i., 742.

was decreased to thirteen when the number was to be raised to at least twenty-five.⁴ In Wellingborough⁵ and Skipton⁶ the lower limit was five, the number to be raised to the original, in Whitchurch the lower number was eight.⁷ In Warrington, when the original number was decreased to four, these were, within one month, to enfeof two honest priests, who in turn were to re-enfeof the four survivors together with twelve other of the "most honest and discreet persons" living in four specified parishes, who had been selected before by the surviving four,⁸ while in Biddenden the number, twenty, was to be filled up every seven years.⁹

The provision taken by the founder of the school at Witton is interesting enough to be quoted in full. It reads as follows: "Because all Men be mortal, and through such of the number of Feoffees being dead there happen some disorder, not only in the School but also in the lands and tenements thereunto given by the Founder aforesaid, might fall to ruin and decay or the School-house want such furniture as appertaineth, therefore I will as oft as *Four* of the *Feoffees* be dead, the rest of the Feoffees surviving, within one quarter of a year, shall assemble themselves at the School-house aforesaid, shall not only then and there elect and choose *Four* other of the Founder's next Kinsfolk to be Feoffees in the stead of the other Four Feoffees before dead, if there be then so many of his Kinsfolk alive, and if not, then to choose *Four* of the most honest, sage and discreet persons, being Inhabitants of the Parish of Witton aforesaid, and especially such as will have a vigilant eye and bear a good zeal to the maintenance and continuance of this *Free School*,—but shall then and there also enfeof the *Four* by them so chosen, in all the lands and tenements given to the School aforesaid, to the use limited by the Founder's enfeofment, and this order and election to be continued for ever."¹⁰

In the above quotation is given not only the course to be pursued in the election and enfeofment of new trustees, but also a detailed account of the necessary qualifications. The "Founder's next Kinsfolk" were to be preferred,¹¹ and in default of these

⁴ *Ibid.*, 342.

⁵ Carlisle, ii., 227.

⁶ *Ibid.* 901.

⁷ S. 1570. C.C.R. xxiv., 337.

⁸ Deed 1526, but in effect during reign of Elizabeth. C.C.R. xx., 167.

⁹ Founder's Will, 1566. S.I.C. xi., 21.

¹⁰ Statutes, 1558, Carlisle, i., 133-134.

¹¹ This was not uncommon. In the case of Rugby the succession was to be in the families of the two original trustees, Harrison and Field.

the four were to be chosen from "the most honest, sage, and discreet persons," "such as will have a vigilant eye and bear a good zeal to the maintenance of this Free School" and were to be "Inhabitants of the Parish of Witton." This local qualification was very common, but hardly less so than the stock phrase, men of "good fame, morals, and condition."¹²

While it has been noted that the perpetuity of the trust was provided for by new enfeoffments and by qualifications of a high grade for members, there remains to be considered the methods of managing the estate entrusted to the feoffees, which was the chief duty of these bodies of men.¹³ In at least one place this duty seems to have been referred to the schoolmaster, for in Warrington, one year after his nomination, the master was to be given a lease of the property of the school for sixty years, a lease which was to become void upon the severance of his connection with the school; the master was given power to demise property at his pleasure, but for terms of only ten years.¹⁴ While the period for which land could be demised was the same in Whitchurch as that which has just been quoted, the power was in the hands of the feoffees, who were to render a yearly account of all the rents and profits of the property to the churchwardens of the parish church at an annual meeting to be held in the parish church.¹⁵ A somewhat similar arrangement seems to have existed at Wellingborough, where the actual management was vested in the entire body of feoffees, who were to render account every year on Easter Monday and Tuesday at a meeting to be held in the schoolhouse and to be open to all parishioners who desired to attend. At these meetings the accounts were to be examined by the Vicar, the Schoolmaster, and three of the men assessed highest at the last assessment. But this was not

Staunton, *Great Public Schools*, 365. This was true until 1602, when because of some trouble there was a complete remodeling of the trust, which was then vested in a body of 12 feoffees, men of standing and repute.—Rouse, *Rugby*, Appendix II. B.

¹² Cf. Carlisle, i., 742.

¹³ In the case of Newport this appears to have been the sole duty of the feoffees. Carlisle, i., 437.

¹⁴ Deed, 1526, but in effect in reign of Elizabeth. C.C.R. xx., 168. Similarly in Tadcaster (Statutes, 1586) the property was to be managed by the master. S.I.C. xviii., 274.

¹⁵ Statutes, 1570. C.C.R. xxiv., 337.

the only precaution taken. Within three weeks the accounts were to be presented by two of these auditors to any one of the justices of peace in order that 'they might, if they would, peruse and consider the same.'¹⁶

In the above description it will be noted (a) that provision was made for keeping alive local interest in the school by making the annual meeting open to all parishioners, (b) that precaution was taken against mismanagement of funds, by the creation of a double system of auditing, and (c) that the board of auditors contained the "best elements" in the community from the standpoint of scholarship (the Vicar and the Schoolmaster) as well as from that of financial ability (the three men assessed highest at the last assessment).

Very different but not less interesting was the method of management at Tiverton, where, while the management was to be in the hands of the entire body, "a true and perfect Book of Survey of granting and demising the lands of the estate, of money received and paid out, and other proceedings in and about the premises" was to be kept by a "perfect Clarke" to be appointed by the feoffees and to receive an annual salary of 40s. for his services. He was to take "warrant of all his doings from the feoffees, or the most part of them, with their hands alwaies to bee subscribed."¹⁷

In the cases thus far studied the estates have been managed by the whole body of feoffees except where the management has been delegated to the master, a custom which fortunately for the masters as well as for the property of the schools does not appear to have been common. In Tiverton much of the executive power of the large and cumbersome body of feoffees must have been delegated to the "perfect Clarke." A decided step in advance towards executive efficiency seems to have been taken at Witton where the founder in his statutes for the school willed that the financial arrangements, "the receiving and paying all manner of rents, wages, and charges concerning the School," were to be cared for by two of the feoffees, who were to be elected by the feoffees for a term of two years, were not to serve for two successive terms, and were to "yield account" to the

¹⁶ Decree of Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, 1596. Carlisle, ii., 227.

¹⁷ Founder's Will, 1599. Carlisle, i., 341.

rest of the feoffees and the Church Wardens of Witton every year upon Jesus Eve.¹⁸

As the care and repair of the school and its property were included in the actual management of the estates, the chief duties of the feoffees were such as would arise from acting as custodians and managers of estates, and hence the chief powers were financial in their nature. Thus while the feoffees at Wellingborough were to pay the salary of the master they had no voice in his appointment or removal.¹⁹ But while this was true in a few other cases, perhaps in a larger number the feoffees had the power to appoint and dismiss the master,²⁰ and in one instance at least they had the power of appointment and dismissal of the usher as well as that of making statutes for the better governing of the school.²¹ Commonly, however, the statutes appear to have been made by persons other than the feoffees who were merely to see that the rules were enforced faithfully.²²

While our study has shown that in not a few places special provisions were made for the safeguarding of the trust, it is clear that without such provisions too much is left to the individual characters of the men who compose the body of feoffees; the trust was safe in proportion to the soundness of character of the individual feoffee; there was always the danger that the feoffees would appropriate the lands or rents to their own use.²³ While these dangers might exist in the case of a corporation there was not the same amount of danger; that more confidence was actually placed in government by corporations is proved by the greater number of cases of such government. But before proceeding to the consideration of the second type of government, two transitional cases should be noted.

The first is that of Alford, where in 1565, Francis Spanning, a Merchant of Alford, placed by deed, the interest of £50 into the keeping of ten managers, six of whom were to be feoffees chosen

¹⁸ Statutes, 1558. *Ibid.*, 134. Cf. Appendix G for reference to these feoffees and for copy of one of their reports.

¹⁹ Decree of Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, 1596. Carlisle, ii., 227.

²⁰ Cf. Appendix D.

²¹ Case of Tiverton. Cf. Appendix D.

²² E. g. Witton, Statutes, 1558, Carlisle, i., 134.

²³ Such an accusation was brought against the feoffees of the school at Moulton, in 1599, by the master, who appears to have won his case. Carlisle i., 837.

from the inhabitants of Alford and to be known as the Governors of the school, while the other four were to be of the most respectable persons in or near the town and were to be known as Auditors²⁴—a plan somewhat similar to that at Wellingborough. But in 1576, when a Charter was obtained,²⁵ the governors were made an incorporated body.

The second transitional case is that of Thame where several rectories left in 1558 by Sir John William, Knight, to his executors for the establishment and maintenance of a free school, were surrendered by the feoffees in 1574, under license of the Crown, to the management of the Warden and Scholars of New College, Oxford.²⁶ A study of the new form of government of this school leads us into the second division of our topic,

II. GOVERNMENT BY INCORPORATED TRUSTEES

These trustees differ from those just studied in that they are a corporation and have the rights of a corporate body while the feoffees were not incorporated and did not have the rights of such a body. They differ from those to be studied in the third division of our topic, "Government by Specially Incorporated Governors," in that they are not incorporated for the specific purpose of governing a certain grammar school as is the case with those under the third division. The trustees to be studied under this division are simply members of corporations founded for other purposes, with other functions to perform; these corporations impressed the founders or those interested in the schools as being desirable trustees for the endowments and possessions of the school, and were therefore made governors of the school. Four types of corporations were thus not uncommonly chosen: colleges, guilds, incorporated towns, and cathedral corporations. The present division of our topic may, therefore, be treated under the following heads: Government by Colleges, Government by Guilds, Government by Town Corporations, and Government by Cathedral Corporations.

A. *Government by Colleges.*—The endowment of the grammar school at Thame, as we have seen, was surrendered by the

²⁴ Carlisle, i., 780.

²⁵ It is stated in Carlisle, i., 780, that this action was due to the influence of two of the Auditors.

²⁶ Carlisle, ii., 313. S.I.C. xii., 269.

original feoffees to the Warden and Scholars of New College, Oxford, and their Successors, in order that the trust might be better discharged. The chief duties to be performed by the new trustees were to "employ and bestow the profits of the premises according to the mind of the founder," *i.e.*, to pay the salaries of the master and usher, to "uphold and keep the school-house and buildings, and the tomb of the founder," and to maintain an almshouse for five old men and one old woman, as well as to keep the property in as good repair as the surplus of yearly profits would permit. While the heirs of the founder were to have the actual appointment of the master and usher, the college was to have the power of nomination.²⁷ The Wardens and Fellows of New College, Oxford, were also entrusted with the possessions of the school at East Adderbury, with the revenues of which they were to keep the school in repair and to pay the salary of the master.²⁸

At least two other Oxford Colleges were made trustees of schools: Corpus Christi college was to hold in trust the lands of the school at Cheltenham and was to nominate master and usher;²⁹ while University College was deeded land to be used for the support of the school at Normanton.³⁰ But the grammar

²⁷ Carlisle, ii., 313.

²⁸ Deed, 1589. The case is similar to that of Thame in that, as soon as they had built the schoolhouse and settled the estates, the feoffees were, according to the founder's will, to deed the lands to the college. Carlisle, ii., 292.

²⁹ Carlisle, i., 446. S.I.C. xv., 38.

³⁰ Deed, 1592. S.I.C. xviii., 190. The following is an extract of the founder's will relative to this subject:

"For the better ordering, government, directing, and establishing of this my meaning, I commit the nomination, placing, ordering, and government, and visitation, reformation, direction, displacing, and expulsion of the said schoolmaster, usher and scholars of my school at Normanton and of the almsfolk in my almshouse at Kirkthorpe, for the time being to the master of University College and Emmanuel College aforesaid, and to the Rector of Lincoln College in Oxford and to every fellow of the two former said colleges by them sent for that purpose into Yorkshire and to my executors and to the Vicars of Wakefield, Pontefract, Leeds, Normanton, and Kirkthorpe and their successors for the time being, and to him or them of the scholars that have or shall be maintained by me as aforesaid in either of the said universities, and to my said cousin, Richard Freeston of Mendham and to his heirs for ever, or the more part of them that have that purpose, shall be assembled in the

school trustees were not picked from the Oxford colleges alone; two at least of the Cambridge colleges acted as such trustees.

The Master, Fellows and Scholars of Trinity college were made trustees of the three schools founded by the Rev. Thomas Allen (or Allyn) at Stone, Stevenage, and Uttoxeter, and as such were to pay an annual salary of twenty marks to each of the three masters;³¹ while by Letters Patent, 1572, the Principal and Fellows of Brasen Nose College were incorporated as governors of the grammar school at Middleton, and as such they were to act as trustees of the school property and as custodians of rent charges from which they were to pay annually the salary of the master and usher.³² Both colleges were given power to make statutes for the government of the schools as well as the power of appointment of masters.

B. Government by Guilds.—The second class of corporations to which the possessions of some of the grammar schools were entrusted was composed of the various guilds. Thus, at Stepney, the government of the school was placed in the hands of the Coopers Company;³³ at West Lavington, the Mercers Company was given the power to dismiss the master and was charged with the superintendence of repairs and the maintenance of the schoolhouse;³⁴ at Barton-under-Needwood the Drapers Company had the power of appointment of master and usher;³⁵ at Basingstoke the possessions of the School were held by the aldermen and wardens of the guild and fraternity of the Holy Ghost;³⁶ while in Aldenham the lands of the school and of six almshouses were placed under the management of the Master and Keeper or Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery or Art of Brewers of the City of London, who had the power of election and removal ("for sufficient reasons") of master and usher, to regulate the salaries of the same, to admit pupils into

Church of Normanton aforesaid, and my said cousin, Richard Freeston, and his heirs, if the number of them be equal, having a casting vote, notwithstanding anything contained in my said schedule." Quoted in S.I.C. xviii., 191.

³¹ Deed, 1558. Carlisle, i., 553.

³² S.I.C. xvii., 339.

³³ Deed, 1552. S.I.C. x., 75.

³⁴ Deed, 1542. S.I.C. xiv., 55.

³⁵ Deed, 1593. C.C.R. vii., 303.

³⁶ F. J. Baigent and J. E. Millard, *A History of Basingstoke*, 668-69.

the school, and to make statutes for the better governing of the school.³⁷ In the case of the grammar school at Holt the Fishmongers Company were incorporated as "The Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Fishmongers of London, Governors of the Possessions, Revenues, and Goods of the Free Grammar School of John Gresham, Knight, Citizen and Alderman of London, in Holt, otherwise Holt Market, in the County of Norfolk,"³⁸ with the power to make statutes with the advice and consent of the Bishop of Norwich and to appoint master and visitors of the school.³⁸

Two cases are particularly interesting as they give a hint as to how estates were administered by these non-resident bodies. They are those of Tunbridge and Oundle. In the former place the management of the school property was entrusted by the founder, Sir Andrew Judde, Knight, Citizen and Skinner of London, Lord Mayor of London in 1552,⁴⁰ to the Master, Wardens and Commonalty of Skinners in London,⁴¹ who as governors of the school had the power to, and actually did, draw up statutes for the government of the School. In order to increase their efficiency as governors, they inaugurated the custom of visiting the School annually in the month of May.⁴² In Oundle the governors of the School were the Wardens of the Grocers Company of London,⁴³ who had the management of the endowment for the master and usher of the Grammar School and also for seven "Bed Men."⁴⁴ In this case, however, the governors were not to visit the school but were to pay to the "Vicar, Churchwardens and four of the antientest substantial parishioners of Oundle" 24s. annually, which were to be used for the

³⁷ Statutes, 1599. S.I.C. xii., 65, also Letters Patent, 1595, *Ibid* 65. The children of the "Brewers" were to be admitted before others. *Ibid* 66.

³⁸ Letters Patent, 1554. C.C.R. xii., 103.

³⁹ Letters Patent, 1554. S.I.C. xiii., 317.

⁴⁰ Carlisle, i., 626-27.

⁴¹ This guild was given the patronage of the school in Market Bosworth by the founder, Sir Wolston Dixie, Knight, in 1592. But for some reason it was never accepted by the guild, and the patronage was therefore transferred to the heirs of the founder. Carlisle, i., 703.

⁴² Carlisle, i., 631.

⁴³ Carlisle, ii., 215.

⁴⁴ Old men who occupied bed-rooms under the schoolhouse. Carlisle, ii., 214.

repair of the schoolhouse, the alms-houses, and the dwellings of the master and usher. Thus the actual care of the buildings was left to a committee of the most responsible inhabitants of the town in which the school was located. The power of appointment and removal of master, however, was given to the governors.⁴⁶

C. Government by Town Corporations.—While our list of schools under the government of town corporations contains the names of over forty such schools, it has been possible to gather but little information concerning the management of the schools by these corporations. This information relates almost entirely to the care of the buildings.⁴⁷ Thus, in the *Annals of Ipswich* under Mar. 24, 1580, the following entry is to be found: "Orders touching the Grammar Schoole and reparacons thereof shall be referred to the Portmen to determine and to such as they shall think meet to call to them."⁴⁸ The Corporation of Gloucester had the management of the funds of the School of St. Mary de Crypt and also had the oversight of all necessary repairs. For the better execution of this latter part of their duty the officers of the Corporation were to "survey the schoolhouse every year between Easter and Whitsuntide," and for their trouble each was to receive a slight remuneration: the Mayor, 4s.; the Recorder, 3s. 6d.; the two senior Aldermen, each 2s.; the two Sheriffs, each 20d.; the Town Clerk, 16d.; the Swordbearer, 12d.; the four Stewards, 12d.; the four Serjeants at Mace, each 8d.; and the five Porters at the Gates, 4d. each.⁴⁹ In Coventry the responsibility of keeping the property in repair does not appear to have been so divided. The Bailiff alone was to "see the house kept in reparations," and was also to "gather up the said rents," and for these services he was to receive 26s. 8d. per annum.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ To this list might be added St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors, London.

⁴⁷ In the case of Yarmouth there is record of the Corporation caring for the comfort of the pupils by ordering in 1562 wood and coal, to be provided for the relief of the scholars in the winter. Manship, *History of Great Yarmouth*, ii., 368.

⁴⁸ The Portmen, according to Camden, *Britain*, p. 465, were the twelve burgesses from whom were chosen annually two bailiffs for head magistrates. Nicholas Bacon, *The Annals of Ipswich*, p. 323.

⁴⁹ Rev. F. D. Fasbrooke, *History of Gloucester*, p. 302.

⁵⁰ B. Poole, *Coventry: Its History and Antiquities*, 248.

In Shrewsbury provision was made in 1571 by Indenture concerning the expenditure of money. Money was to be expended by the bailiffs and schoolmaster in amounts of not more than £10 at a time and its expenditure was restricted to specified purposes among which were the repairs' of the school. The surplus revenues were to be employed (1) to complete the school buildings, (2) to build a country house to serve as a resort in case of plague, and (3) to found two Scholarships and two Fellowships for boys educated at the school.⁶⁰

The most complete account, however, is that of the school at St. Albans. The actual government of this school was in the hands of two governors, who were to be "honest and substantial persons, inhabitants of the borough" and were to be chosen at an annual meeting of the Mayor and Burgesses at the Feast of All Saints. Elected at this meeting for a term of one year these two governors were to take an oath to perform faithfully the duties of their office, which were to see that the statutes of the school were kept by the master and scholars of the school, that the school was kept in good repair, and that the master was paid his wages every quarter. Upon receiving his salary the master was to give a receipt for the money, "an acquaintance, witnessing that he hath received of the said Mayor and Burgesses by the hands of the said governors £5 of good and lawful money of England towards the payment of his wages for keeping of the said school."⁶¹ These receipts were kept by the governors who were custodians of all the money belonging to the school, and were surrendered to the Mayor and Burgesses at the next annual meeting when the governors made a complete report of all their acts during their term of office. As governors, their consent was necessary for the admission of a new scholar as well as for leave of absence of the master,⁶² while together with the mayor they had the appointment of two visitors who were to inspect the work of the master once a year.⁶³ They also had the power to lengthen the play time and to grant more than one day for play.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Staunton, *The Great Schools of England*, 412.

⁶¹ Statutes, quoted in Carlisle, i., 515.

⁶² Carlisle, i., 516.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 517.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 518.

Among the powers not uncommonly possessed by the Corporations was that of appointment of master and usher,⁵⁵ while less common was the power to make and change the statutes of the school.⁵⁵

*D. Government by Cathedral Corporations.*⁵⁶—This form of government is peculiar in that it was adopted by but one type of founder, the King.⁵⁷ In other words, the Cathedral Schools of this period were royal foundations,⁵⁸ and as such were known as "King's Schools."⁵⁹

With one authority responsible for their creation or lease of life, it is natural that the Cathedral Schools should resemble each other very closely in many respects.⁶⁰ In form of government they are virtually alike.⁶¹ The Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral were governors of the Cathedral School held in connection with their Cathedral. As governors, their duties were the same as those governors of other types intrusted with annuities for the benefit of a school,⁶² viz., they were to attend

⁵⁵ Cf. Appendix E. It should be noted that no hard and fast line can be drawn between this division and Government by Specially Incorporated Governors. While some of the cases given in this reference should have been included in this third general division of our topic, they have been inserted here for the sake of convenience.

⁵⁶ While, strictly speaking, the Cathedral Schools do not belong to the "independent schools of the reign of Elizabeth" with which the present study is concerned (cf. Introduction), it has nevertheless seemed necessary to refer very briefly to them here in order to complete the general topic of *Government by Incorporated Trustees*.

⁵⁷ King Henry VIII.

⁵⁸ Cf. Introduction.

⁵⁹ For list of such schools see Appendix A and Appendix U.

⁶⁰ It might be said that they resemble each other in form but not in content. Thus a glance at the table given in Appendix U will reveal the fact that while the schools resemble each other in the objects for which their revenues were to be expended, the amounts to be expended differ materially.

⁶¹ From what has just been said this would be expected.

⁶² For references cf. those given in Appendix A. To those in authority these amounts appear to have been considered annuities, but, according to Whiston, *Cathedral Trusts and their Fulfilment*, p. 9, they were not annuities, but proportionable parts of amounts derived from the revenues from lands with which the Cathedral was endowed. Whiston's contention was that as these lands increased in value and the revenues became larger, the parts appropriated for educational purposes ought also to have grown.

to the repairs of the building, to pay the stipends of the teaching staff, and to pay the scholarships to the pupils.⁶³ While the Dean and Chapter had power to appoint and dismiss the teaching staff and to appoint scholars, the Dean alone possessed the power to extend the time of any boy beyond that allowed by the statutes of the Cathedral.⁶⁴

The law was that every cathedral should have within it a cathedral school, or should have near it a free grammar school.⁶⁵ No cathedral school was supported by the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral at Norwich; in its place the Dean and Chapter paid £20 annually to the master of the city school of Norwich.⁶⁶ A somewhat similar condition existed at Lincoln. The governing body of the school here consisted of the Town Corporation of Lincoln and the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, an arrangement brought about in 1583 by an agreement between the two corporations.⁶⁷ According to this agreement the Cathedral Corporation was to have the appointment of the master of whose salary they were to pay £20; as visitors of the school, the Dean and Chapter were to have oversight of the teaching done by the master and were to attend to any necessary reform in his teaching. On the other hand, the Town Corporation was to have similar powers and duties with respect to the usher.

GOVERNMENT BY INCORPORATED GOVERNORS.

While the distinguishing mark of the cases to be considered in this division is that of special incorporation, there are two distinct classes: to the first class belong the cases in which bodies of men already incorporated for specific purposes are again incorporated as governors of a grammar school, while to the

⁶³ Cf. Appendix U.

⁶⁴ Thus in the case of Chester Cathedral School, the boys were allowed four years to complete the course. This time might be increased to five years by special permission of the Dean. Statutes, 1544, S.I.C. xvii., 31, Cf. references given in Appendix A.

⁶⁵ Cf. Injunction of Edward VI. regarding Cathedral Grammar Schools, quoted by Carlisle, i., 488-489.

⁶⁶ This fact is revealed in the report in answer to the Articles of Inquiry sent out by Archbishop Parker in 1567. Strype, *Life of Parker*, 491, 493.

⁶⁷ C.C.R. xxxii., pt. 5., 4.

second class belong all those cases in which a distinctly new corporation is formed for the government of the school. The former class has been considered under Government by College, Guild, and Town Corporations.⁶⁸ The latter class remains, therefore, to be treated in the present section.

The following table will give one an idea of the number of men included in these school corporations.

Table No. 1.⁶⁹

I.	II.	I.	II.	I.	II.	I.	II.
2.	2.	7.	1.	13.	1.	20.	3.
4.	4.	8.	2.	14.	1.	24.	3.
5.	2.	10.	5.	15.	3.	37.	1.
6.	5.	12.	13.	16.	2.	50.	1.

Column I. contains number of men in Corporation.

Column II. contains number of cases.

In the above table containing forty-nine cases it will be noted that the number of men incorporated varies from two to fifty, the most common number being twelve. Over 67% of the cases lie between six and sixteen.⁷⁰

Turning from the number to the qualifications of governors, we discover that the most common qualification is that the man be "discreet and honest." Thus in Blackburn the governors were to be men of "the most discreet and honest of the Inhabitants or Freeholders;"⁷¹ in Halifax they were to be "of the discreetest and honestest men dwelling in the same parish" and were to be over twenty-four years of age;⁷² in St. Olave's they were to be "men of discretion and most honest Inhabitants" of the parish;⁷³ in Walsall they were to be "respectable inhabitants of the Town and Parish of Walsall, *resident* in the same;"⁷⁴ in Atherstone, "the more discreet and honest

⁶⁸ Cf. *supra*, p. 32 (Brasen Nose College, Middleton), pp. 32, 33 (Aldenham and Holt). Appendix E (Faversham, Kingston-upon-Thames, Richmond, Sandwich, and Stafford).

⁶⁹ The material for this table is to be found in Appendix F.

⁷⁰ It should be noted in Appendix F that in a number of cases the number of men incorporated is not given.

⁷¹ Letters Patent, 1567, Carlisle, i., 637.

⁷² Letters Patent, 1585, *Ibid.* ii., 809.

⁷³ Letters Patent, 1570, *Ibid.* ii., 578.

⁷⁴ Letters Patent, 1554, *Ibid.* ii., 499.

men of the town;”⁷⁵ in Wimborne, “of the most discreet and substantial Inhabitants of the Parish;”⁷⁶ in Hexham the qualifications were the same as those of Halifax with the exception of a difference in age (from 24 to 21) and the addition, in the case of Hexham, of “men fearing God, of good name and fame;”⁷⁷ while in Wakefield the men were to be “of the most wise, discreet, and religious persons,” “within the parish or dwelling within two miles thereof.”⁷⁸

In the above list of qualifications it will be noticed that the qualification common to all is that the governor shall be an inhabitant of the parish or town in which the school is located.⁷⁹ While this was a very common qualification it did not always hold, as for example, in Saint Bees where two of the governors were always to be The Provost of Queen’s College, Oxford, and the Rector of Egremont.⁸⁰ Still other restrictions were not uncommon. In Crediton three of the governors were to be chosen from the village of Sandford.⁸¹ In Cranbrook,⁸² Gainsborough,⁸³ Giggleswick,⁸⁴ and Kirkby Lonsdale,⁸⁵ the vicar was always to be one of the governors. In Market Bosworth the corporation was to consist of the rector, three church wardens, and six inhabitants of the parish;⁸⁶ in Dronfield the Vicar and Guardians of the Parish Church were to be governors;⁸⁷ in Mansfield the corporation was to be composed of the vicar and

⁷⁵ Letters Patent, 1573, *Ibid.* ii., 616.

⁷⁶ Letters Patent, 1563, *Ibid.* i., 385. In the case of St. Saviour the phrase is “discreet and creditable Inhabitants.” Letters Patent, *Ibid.* ii., 583.

⁷⁷ Letters Patent, 1599, C.C.R. xxiii., 478.

⁷⁸ Letters Patent, 1592, Carlisle ii., 910.

⁷⁹ Or, as in the case of Chipping Barnet, within the county or neighboring county. Letters Patent, 1573, S.I.C. xii., 106.

⁸⁰ Letters Patent, 1583, Carlisle i., 152.

⁸¹ Letters Patent, 1559, *Ibid.* i., 254.

⁸² Letters Patent, 1574, *Ibid.* i., 571.

⁸³ Letters Patent, 1589, *Ibid.* i., 797.

⁸⁴ Letters Patent, 1553, *Ibid.* ii., 801.

⁸⁵ Letters Patent, 1591, C.C.R. vii., 544.

⁸⁶ Letters Patent, 1601, Carlisle i., 752.

⁸⁷ Letters Patent, Carlisle i., 222. During any vacancy of the vicarage or guardians, six of the “most discreet inhabitants” were to be nominated governors *pro tempore* by the Fanshaw Family, the family of the Patron.

church wardens,⁸⁸ while in Drayton in Hales the church wardens and their successors were incorporated as "the governors of the possessions of the school."⁸⁹ In Chelmsford the governors were to be male heirs of the four original governors, or in default of such heirs, knights residing in the County of Essex.⁹⁰ A somewhat similar restriction existed at Worcester where the governors were to be chosen from the "twenty-four chief citizens of the city of Worcester, commonly called the Head Council."⁹¹

The powers usually granted to these corporations were the right to be known by a corporate title, the right to possess and use a common seal, the right to sue and to be sued, the rights of perpetual succession and of holding and acquiring property, and in some cases the rights or powers of appointment of master and usher and of making statutes for the government of the school.

The function of the corporation is generally indicated in its corporate title. Thus the official title of the governors of the grammar school at Kingston-upon-Thames was *The Governors of the possessions, revenues, and goods of the said school commonly called, and to be called, the Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth in the town of Kingston-upon-Thames in the County of Surrey.*⁹² The part of the title which usually reads, "The Governors of the Possessions, Revenues, and Goods," etc., clearly indicates that the chief function of the corporation was the management of the endowments of the school. This is expressly stated in some of the letters patent, as for example in that of Richmond, 1568, where the motive of granting the letters patent of incorporation is "that Her Majesty's intentions might take the better effect and that the lands and revenues to be granted for the support of the school might be better governed."⁹³ Indeed, in

⁸⁸ Letters Patent, Carlisle ii., 347. The same persons had been incorporated by Philip and Mary as governors of the lands and possessions of the Parish Church, and the two corporations were really one, using the same seal and interchanging the funds.

⁸⁹ Letters Patent, 1555-6, Carlisle ii., 347.

⁹⁰ Letters Patent, 1551, C.C.R. xxxii., pt. 1., 586.

⁹¹ Letters Patent, 1561, C.C.R. xix., 520.

⁹² Letters Patent. George Roots, *The Charters of the Town of Kingston-upon-Thames*, 86.

⁹³ Carlisle ii., 876.

some places, as in Dronfield⁹⁴ and in Berkhamsted,⁹⁵ the management of the possessions of the school appears to be the sole function of the governors.

The right to acquire and hold land which is implicitly recognized in the title of incorporation is always explicitly stated in the letters patent. The value of the land which the corporation might hold is also generally given. Thus in 80% of the twenty cases of which we have data⁹⁶ this annual value of land lies between £30 and £40.⁹⁷ In not a few instances it was also specified in what manner the possessions were to be held. Thus in St. Olave's they were not to be held "by thrift or by Knight's Services;"⁹⁸ in Market Bosworth they were not to be held by "Knight's Services or in *capite*;"⁹⁹ while in Blackburn they were forbidden to be "holden of the Crown in chief."¹⁰⁰ In Horncastle the lands were to be held "*in capite*;"¹⁰¹ while in Stafford they were to be held "by fealty or in free Soccage,"¹⁰² and in Birmingham "by Fealty only in free Soccage, paying 20s. yearly into the Court of Augmentation, at the Feast of St. Michael, for all demands and services whatever."¹⁰³ In many cases also the purposes for which the revenues of the estates were to be expended are definitely given. Thus in the case of Bunbury twelve men are incorporated as "The Governors of the possessions and revenues purchased and assigned by Thomas Aldersey, for the maintenance of the free grammar school, and the preacher

⁹⁴ Here the powers to appoint master and usher and to make statutes were not given to the governors. Letters Patent, 1579 C.C.R. xviii., 198.

⁹⁵ Here the appointment of master was by the Crown while the visitors of the school were appointed independently of the trustees. Act of Parliament, Ed. VI., S.I.C., xii., 14.

⁹⁶ Data in possession of author. This list, however, includes Town Corporations as well as cases of "special incorporation."

⁹⁷ In the case of Nottingham the charter granted 4th Henry VIII. had given the corporation power to hold land to the annual value of 20 marks, but in 1594 this amount was (according to the petition of the governors) insufficient to support and maintain the school. Upon the petition of the governors this amount was raised to £40 by letters patent. C.C.R. xx., 387.

⁹⁸ Letters Patent, 1570, Carlisle ii., 772.

⁹⁹ Letters Patent, 1601, *Ibid.* i., 753.

¹⁰⁰ Letters Patent, 1567, *Ibid.* i., 637.

¹⁰¹ Letters Patent, 1571, *Ibid.* i., 817.

¹⁰² Letters Patent, 1572, *Ibid.* ii., 491.

¹⁰³ Letters Patent, 1552, *Ibid.* 621.

of the divine word, and the relief of the poor in the parish of Bunbury;’’¹⁰⁴ in the case of Wantage the men were incorporated as governors of the town lands of Wantage, for the relief of the poor of the town, for the repair of highways, and for the maintenance of the schoolmaster;¹⁰⁶ while in the case of Wimborne Minster, estates of an annual value of £89 18s. were granted to the governors of the school, £40 of which were to be paid as rental to the Crown and the balance to support a schoolmaster, three priests, and three clerks.¹⁰⁰ The cases thus far quoted have been those in which the income was to be applied to religious, philanthropic, or civic purposes as well as to the support of the school; but there are not a few instances in which the revenues were to be applied only to educational purposes. Thus, in Gainsborough¹⁰⁷ and Stourbridge all issues and revenues were to be applied to the support of the master and usher and ‘to no other uses whatever;’¹⁰⁸ similarly in St. Olave’s all issues and revenues were to be used for the maintenance of the master and under master, towards “sustaining House and Buildings of the School” and “to no other use;’’¹⁰⁹ in Sedbergh all clear yearly rents were to be “expended and laid out and converted to the wages and for sustaining the master and usher of our school and to no other use whatsoever;’’¹¹⁰ in the case of Colchester it was one of the duties of the Bishop of London as visitor of the school at Colchester to see that the revenues were being used for the maintenance of the school and master;¹¹¹ while in Nottingham it is specifically stated in the Letters Patent that the income of the school was to be devoted to the support of the school and the support, maintenance, and defence of its property.¹¹²

With the power or right to hold property went the duty to manage that property for the school, and so the letters patent

¹⁰⁴ Letters Patent, 1594, C.C.R. x., 193.

¹⁰⁶ Act of Parliament, 1597. S.I.C. xi., 432.

¹⁰⁰ Letters Patent, 1563. C.C.R. xxx., 53.

¹⁰⁷ Letters Patent, 1589, C.C.R. xxxii., pt. 4., 441.

¹⁰⁸ Letters Patent, 1583, Carlisle ii., 772. There was a similar provision in the case of Market Bosworth, Letters Patent, 1601, Carlisle i., 753.

¹⁰⁹ Letters Patent, 1570, *Ibid.* ii., 579.

¹¹⁰ Royal Charter quoted in Platt, *Sedbergh Grammar School*, 57.

¹¹¹ Letters Patent, 1584, Carlisle i., 425.

¹¹² Letters Patent, 1594, C.C.R. xx., 387. The right to sue and to be sued was one of the privileges given to the corporation, *cf. supra* p. 39.

not only gave the power or right, but also made provisions for the management among which were those made for the constitution or internal organization of the corporations. In Newcastle-upon-Tyne the master and scholars were made a corporation with the usual powers while the Town Corporation was made patron of the school with the power to appoint the master.¹¹³ In Guisbrough the corporation was to consist of two wardens, one schoolmaster, and twelve poor persons; the wardens were to be chosen for one year by the founders or their heirs, the retiring wardens, and the schoolmaster, who was also to be appointed by the founders or their heirs within twenty days after vacancy occurred, while the twelve poor persons, six of each sex, the women to be at least 63 years of age and to have been inhabitants of Guisbrough for at least three years, were to be elected by the founders or their heirs within the specified twenty days after any vacancy occurred; in cases of non-appointment of master or poor persons within the specified time the right was to lapse to the two wardens, who were to appoint within the next twenty days or to forfeit the power to a Robert Rokely of Marck in Cleveland or his heirs; but in any case the election to the corporation was to be made public.¹¹⁴ The corporation of the school at Chelmsford gained the title of "The Knight School Corporation" from the fact that the original members appointed by the Crown were knights and that the government was settled in their families forever; the heir of a deceased member was to be chosen as his successor, while, in case of no heir being left by the deceased, a knight whose family live in the County of Essex was to be chosen, while in case of all of the governors dying without male issue, four men from the Order of Knights were to be chosen by the Bishop of the Diocese to act as governors of the school.¹¹⁵ As a rule, however, there were not the restrictions in the constitution of the corporations just quoted; generally what restrictions there were were of the character of the qualifications which have already been noted.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Letters Patent, 1600, Carlisle ii., 254, and Brand, *Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, Vol. i., 88.

¹¹⁴ Statutes, 1561, C.C.R. viii., 725.

¹¹⁵ Letters Patent, 1552, Carlisle i., 411-12. In 1818 three of the governors bore the names of three of the original governors.

¹¹⁶ Cf. *supra*, p. 38ff.

Before proceeding to a consideration of the internal organization of the corporations let us note briefly some of the provisions taken for the perpetuation of the bodies of governors. While in the case of Bunbury the nomination of governors was given to the Master and Wardens of the Haberdashers Company,¹¹⁷ this is an exceptional case for, as it has before been noted,¹¹⁸ the corporations were generally given the power of self-perpetuation or of perpetual succession.¹¹⁹ Thus in Wantage vacancies caused by death or removal were to be supplied by a majority of the remainder.¹²⁰ In at least one case men outside of the corporation participated in the election of new members; in St. Savior in Southwark the new governor was to be elected by the governors and by twelve of the "discreet and creditable inhabitants" of the parish who had been chosen by the governors for that purpose.¹²¹ In some places the new governors were to be elected within a specified time. In Halifax¹²² and Crediton¹²³ this time was to be within one month, in St. Bees,¹²⁴ Worcester,¹²⁵ and Wakefield,¹²⁶ within six weeks, after the occurrence of the vacancy. Further provision was made for failure to elect within specified time. In Halifax the election was to go with consent of two of the governors to the Archbishop of York, or,

¹¹⁷ Letters Patent, 1594, C.C.R. x., 193.

¹¹⁸ Cf. *supra*, p. 40.

¹¹⁹ The case of Houghton le Spring is only an apparent exception, for while here the governors were to be appointed by Heath and Gilpin, these two men were the first governors of the school as well as the founders. (Carlisle i., 404.)

¹²⁰ Act of Parliament, 1597, S.I.C. xi., 432. Here as in other places the corporation had the right to remove one of its members for reasonable cause.

¹²¹ Letters Patent, 1562, Carlisle ii., 583.

¹²² Letters Patent, 1585, Carlisle ii., 809; also C.C.R. xviii., 569.

¹²³ Letters Patent, 1559, Carlisle i., 254.

¹²⁴ Statutes, 1583, Carlisle i., 155. Should any person elected within six weeks refuse to serve, another election was to be held in the chamber within six weeks after the receipt of the refusal, and in default of such election the appointment was to be by the Bishop of Chester.

¹²⁵ Letters Patent, 1561, C.C.R. xix., 520.

¹²⁶ Upon the death or removal of any of the governors the rest were to "take unto them the schoolmaster and to nominate another in his place within six weeks after such vacancy." Letters Patent, 1592. Carlisle ii., 910-11.

in his absence, to the Dean of the Cathedral Church of York.¹²⁷ In Wakefield the Lord President of the North Parts, or the Archbishop of York with the consent of six of the governors was to appoint.¹²⁸ In St. Bees,¹²⁹ Atherstone,¹³⁰ and Spalding¹³¹ the power of appointment was to be forfeited to the Bishop of the Diocese in which the town was situated.

The newly elected governor was in some places required to take an oath of office. Such an oath was required in Wakefield before the governor entered upon his duties,¹³² while in Hartlebury he was not admitted until he had taken such an oath.¹³³ The oath prescribed by the lord of Chester for the Governors of the Free School of Hawkeshead reads as follows:

"I, B. C., doe sweare that I haue not giuen Any thing, nor haue indirectly laboured, to be Made Gournr of this Schoole, And I will Diligently and faithfully to the uttermost of myne Ability keep by my selfe and cause to be kept by others (as much as I can) inviolably All these Statutes, and I will not doe any act at Any tyme which I shall knowe, beleue, or thike wilbe preiudiciall to the good of the said Schoole, And I will not Appropriate convert or Apply to myne use, or to the use of any of myne, any part of the profittes of the Revenewes giuen to the said Schole, But will doe my best to improue and increase them to the best Aduantage of the Schoole, Schoolemsrs and Ushers in ppetuity, and to such Ends onely as are sett downe in the foundation, and in these present Statutes, and noe otherwise."¹³⁴

The duties of the individual governor depended to a great extent upon the internal organization of the corporation of which he was a member. In Ashborne the corporation was to be organized into "Governors" and "Assistant Governors;" the "Governors of the Revenues" were to be elected by the

¹²⁷ Carlisle ii., 809.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* ii., 910-11.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* i., 155.

¹³⁰ Letters Patent, 1573, C.C.R. xxix., 956.

¹³¹ Letters Patent, 1588. This the Bishop failed to do in the middle of the 17th century when in consequence the body became extinct C.C.R. xxxii., pt. 4., 113.

¹³² Carlisle ii., 910-11.

¹³³ Statutes, Carlisle ii., 762.

¹³⁴ Statutes, 1588, quoted in Cowper's *Hawkeshead*, p. 486.

governors and assistants from the "Assistants," while the latter were to be chosen "*ex discretioribus et magis idoneis viris*" of the Parish,¹³⁵ while in Seven Oaks the corporation was to be composed of two Wardens and four Assistants.¹³⁶ In these cases as in the case of Guisbrough already quoted,¹³⁷ it is very probable that the real work of the corporation was done by the wardens or chief governors. More detailed information with respect to other instances supports this view. Thus in the case of Dedham the annual meeting of the governors was to be held on All Souls Day; at this meeting the governors were to elect from their number two "collectors" who were to collect the rents of the school lands, to pay therewith the salary of the master, and to render an account at the next annual meeting, at which no business was to be transacted until a quorum were present and in which a governor might vote by proxy provided his vote were given to another governor under his hand and seal.¹³⁸ In Atherstone, according to the statutes made in 1607, it had been the custom to elect at the annual meeting two members to act as bailiffs and in that capacity to take charge of the financial affairs of the school, with power to call extra meetings of the governors whenever such meeting seemed necessary to them;¹³⁹ while in Hexham the governors at their annual meeting at or within four days after the feast of St. Michael elected from their number two "stewards of the school" who were to collect and manage all the revenues, to pay the salaries of master and usher, and at the next meeting to render account to the governors in the presence of the master of moneys received and expended; the master was then to receive the surplus money and "perfect notes" of arrears which were to be

¹³⁵ Were the vacancies not filled within one month after their occurrence, the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield might appoint a Governor from the Assistants, or an Assistant from the inhabitants. Letters Patent, Carlisle i., 207-8.

¹³⁶ Letters Patent, 1560. These governors also had charge of from 13 to 20 poor people whom they lodged in certain cottages provided for that purpose. Carlisle i., 619.

¹³⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 43.

¹³⁸ C.C.R. xxvii., 217. At this meeting two other collectors were to be chosen to manage the income of the land devoted to the poor. (Statutes, 1579.)

¹³⁹ C.C.R. xxix., 957.

collected by the newly elected stewards but were to be paid as part of the salary of the year in which they were due; the accounts were to be again audited in the presence of the master by the commissary of Hexamshire at his next court which was held after the feast of St. Michael.¹⁴⁰

While in the cases just considered a large share of the work appears to have been delegated to two or more men, in the cases of St. Bees, Hawkeshead, and Rivington the duties are delegated to one man.¹⁴¹

In St. Bees the Governors were to hold an annual meeting in the forenoon of Tuesday or Thursday after Easter Week. At this meeting the statutes were to be read to them by the schoolmaster or usher. After the reading of the statutes they were to elect the Receiver of the Revenues for the following year, to view the buildings and to take account of the implements belonging thereto, to "look whether the same be clean and decently kept" and "to appoint repairs." A dinner was to be provided by the retiring Receiver of the Revenues, who was to allow for this purpose 13s. 4d. Occasionally an election of a new member or governor was held at this meeting; but when this could not be arranged, the Receiver was to allow 6s. 8d. for the cost of the dinner on the day of election.¹⁴² The exact minutes of the annual meetings were to be kept by the schoolmaster or usher "in a book for that purpose, with the date and year of the same, in the presence of the said Governors," who before their departure were to "subscribe their names or marks unto the same."¹⁴³

From the above it will be seen that the Governors as a body did not bother themselves about the details of management.

¹⁴⁰ Letters Patent, 1600, C.C.R. xxiii., 479. Provision was also made at Guisbrough for the annual auditing of the accounts of the wardens. Statutes, 1561. C.C.R. viii., 725.

¹⁴¹ The case of Louth might be added. Here there were to be one Warden and six Assistants; the former was to be elected for a term of one year by the Assistants, while the latter were to be chosen from the inhabitants of the town by the remaining Assistants within twenty days after the occurrence of a vacancy. Letters Patent, 1552. Carlisle i.; 823.

¹⁴² It would seem from this that not as large an attendance was expected upon this occasion as upon that of the annual meeting.

¹⁴³ Statutes, 1583, Carlisle i., 155.

Attention to these was left to the Receiver of the Revenues of the school, who, elected at the annual meeting for a term of one year, was required to give bond and received for his services 20s. per annum. His duties were to attend to the repairs ordered by the governors, to collect the revenues of the school, to pay the stipends of the master and usher as well as all other necessary bills, to notify the Governors of a special meeting, to notify the Bishop of Chester in case of failure in the election of a new Governor, and to inform the Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, when a vacancy in the mastership occurred, and upon default of appointment of a new master by that official to notify the Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, of the vacancy at Saint Bees.¹⁴⁴

In Hawkeshead the governors were to elect every year one of their number "to Collecte, and gather upp all the Rents, Revenewes, yssues, and pfitts" of the Messuages, lands, tenements, conveyed by the founder, Archbishop Sandys, "for the mayntenaunce of the said Scholemaster, usher and Schole." Before entering upon his duties the person so elected was to "enter into bonde by obligation" to the other governors, with one or two sufficient sureties to be "bounde with him or them, to make a juste, and trewe accompt, pament, and satisfaction" to the governors "for the time being," of all the money entrusted to him as custodian. Such an "accompt" was to be made by him whenever the majority of the governors so desired. Should he refuse to grant the request, it was to be lawful "to depose and dysplace suche pson soe offendinge from his office, or place of gouernor of the said schole, accordinge to ther good dyscreations."¹⁴⁵

In the cases thus far quoted the "collector," "warden," "steward, or "governor" has been elected without respect to any particular order. The custom at Rivington was to be somewhat different as the following extract from the statutes of the school make evident:

"Every Governour shall his year about in course, beginning at the Eldest first, take charge of all goods, tenements, and lands belonging to the School,—He shall also receive the rents and other money due for that year,—and further shall pay the

¹⁴⁴ Statutes, 1583, Carlisle i., 156.

¹⁴⁵ From statutes (1588) quoted in full in Cowper's *Hawkeshead*, 483.

Schoolmaster and Usher their wages, and such other charges as shall go out for that year,—And for the true dealing therein, he shall at his entering put into the rest of the Governors' hands, an Obligation of double the value of that he shall receive;—and he shall not receive his Obligation again, until he have made a full accompt and payment of his receipts and laid into the common chest¹⁴⁸ what money soever shall remain un-

¹⁴⁸ The "common chest" appears to have been an important part of the possessions of the schools. Its important character, its prominent characteristics, and its function will be seen from the following notes about it from various sources.

In Hawkeshead the "Statuts, Constytucons, and Ordinaunces, touchinge, Concerninge, appteyninge, or belonginge to the said grammer Schole" together with "the Queens Maties Letters Patents, conteyninge the ffoundacon of the said ffree grammer Schole, And all the Evidences chers, writings, escripts, and munymts" were to be kept in "one stronge and substanciall Chyste, wth three stronge Lockes and Keyes of three scurall fashons and makings to the same" which was ordered to "be made and placed in some convenient place in the foresaid Scholehowse." Of the three keys just mentioned, the schoolmaster was to have one and two of the governors were to have one each. The chest was not to be opened without the consent of these three. (Statutes, 1588, quoted in Cowper's *Hawkeshead*, 484.)

In Hartlebury the following statute was made concerning the chest: "Also, that for the preservation of the evidences and writings concerning the said school, one strong chest or coffer with four locks and keys be provided, wherein shall be kept all the said writings. Which chest shall stand in the Vestry of the Parish Church of Hartlebury, the doors of which Vestry shall be locked with two locks, all of which keys shall be committed to the custody of six of the said Governors to be chosen by the residue." In this chest were also to be kept the Common Seal and the book of Register in which were to be recorded and registered "all grants and copies, the decease of the Governors, the election of new Governors, and the accompts of the Collectors." (Statutes, 1565, Carlisle ii., 761.)

The following information is contained in the Founder's Statutes for the school at St. Bees: "The Chest wherein the said Casket, the Register Book, this Book of Statutes and other Evidences, together with the said Stock, shall be kept, shall have three several Locks and the keys thereof shall be kept by three of the Wardens, so as no one Man shall have two of the said Keys in his Custody at once, neither shall any one of them suffer his Key to be used in his absence, but in extreme necessity, and then he shall commit the same to some other of the Wardens that hath not a Key.—This Chest shall always remain in the aforesaid Chamber, the Door whereof shall have two strong Locks and the Keys of the said Locks shall be kept, the one by the Receiver, the other by the Schoolmaster, who upon his Departure shall deliver his Key to one of the Wardens that

spent of that his year,—And he prove not to have dealt truly toward the School, the forfeit of his Obligation shall be taken:’¹⁴⁷

The conduct of the governor while serving as chief administrator was subject to keen scrutiny, as the following statute indicates: “And because the other Governors may the better spie his upright dealing, they shall call for and he shall make afore them, twice in the year, at Midsummer and Christmas, or within ten days next following, a true accompt, both of what he hath received and paid,—and if he be found to have paid anything, without all the Governors’ consent, or *four* of them at least, besides himself,—except it be the Master and Usher wages,—or otherwise to deal untruly with the Tenants, or elsewhere touching the School matters, he shall be put out of the number of Governors for ever, and one other chosen in his roome.”¹⁴⁸

The results of our study of the internal organization of some of the school corporations may be summarized as follows: In a large number of cases the corporation met annually. At this annual meeting the general business of the corporation was transacted and a “collector,” “bailiff,” “steward,” or “warden” (in some cases two or three) was elected for a term of one year. The duties of this officer (or officers) appear to have been of merely a clerical nature and included the collection and dispensing of the revenues of the school according to the will of the corporation, and the care of the property, for both of which he was responsible to the corporation to whom he was compelled to render account. In none of the cases contained in our material does this officer appear to have been granted initiative powers, such as the power to sell and acquire land or to demise the same. These powers appear to have been retained by the governors. Such at least was the case in Rivington where this matter was treated in the following statutes: “The Governors shall not make any lease of any lands belonging to the School, for more years than *Twenty one*, or for three lives at the most,—nor let more leases forth at once than one,—nor renew any leases, until the old leases be forfeited or surrendered, or expired within four years.

is not Receiver, to be kept by him until there is a new Schoolmaster.” (Statutes, 1585, quoted in Carlisle i., 160.)

¹⁴⁷ Statutes, Carlisle i., 715.

¹⁴⁸ Statutes, Carlisle i., 715.

"They shall never seal anything with their Common Seal, except Four of the Governors agree to it at the least,—And if it be for putting away any lands, they shall not seal anything without the consent of all *Six Governors*,—and that only on this condition, to buy as much good land or better as they put away, and that not to be done *without the advice of Six other* of the discreetest men dwelling within the Towns of the Corporation, or the other Towns next adjoining."¹⁴⁹

The statutes just quoted contain not only information concerning the leasing and sale of land but also concerning the use of the Common Seal,¹⁵⁰ which, as we have noted before,¹⁵¹ was one of the powers granted to the corporation. In Saint Bees the following statute deals with the safekeeping and use of the Common Seal: "Whereas her Majesty hath appointed the said Wardens to have a Common Seal for ever, to be used in their Affairs as need shall require, we will that the said Seal be kept in a little Casket with a Lock and within the said Chest,¹⁵² and the Schoolmaster shall keep the Key thereof,—which at his departure from the School, he shall leave with the Receiver. —The said Seal shall not be set to any Instrument or Grant, but in the presence and with the consent of the more part of the said Governors, and in the presence of the Schoolmaster, who shall immediately after the Sealing lock up the same again."¹⁵³

The powers and duties of the governors which we have thus far considered have been financial or custodial in their nature.

¹⁴⁹ Statutes, Carlisle i., 715.

¹⁵⁰ A large number of prints of these seals are given in Carlisle's *Endowed Grammar Schools*. The following description of the seal of the school at Hawkeshead is taken from Cowper's *Hawkeshead*, 176.

"It is of silver, of massive work, with a diameter of two and one-half inches; the engraved design is curious and of great interest. In the center upon a large arm chair, we see seated the schoolmaster, cap on the head, and magnificent with a long flowing robe. With his left hand raised he admonishes the poor little knickerbockered pupil who with open book stands trembling before him, while with his right hand he brandishes the formidable birch rod. On the master's right are the arms of the See of York, and on his left, the family arms of Sandys (the family of the founder) while above on a tablet is the motto "*Docendo Discimus*" and on a scroll surrounding the figures, '*Sigillum Liberae Scholae Grammaticae Edwyni Sandes Eboracensis Archiepiscopi Eundatoris.*'"

¹⁵¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 40.

¹⁵² Cf. *supra*, footnote 146, p. 49.

¹⁵³ Statutes, 1583, quoted in Carlisle i., 160.

There remain to be considered those which partake of a more educational executive character. The power to make statutes for the governing of the school might be considered as the transitional power for the statutes were usually to contain provision not only for the better governing of the estates of the school, but also for the improvement of the master and scholars. It should be noted, however, that this power was hedged by the condition that the statutes were to be made with the advice of some other person, usually the bishop of the diocese.¹⁵⁴

As the subject of appointment and dismissal of master and usher will be treated in the next chapter,¹⁵⁵ it will be sufficient here to note that not a few of the corporations had the power to appoint and dismiss their staff upon good reason,¹⁵⁶ but that in some cases the advice and consent of some outside person was necessary in the choice of master and usher.¹⁵⁷ Similar remarks might be made concerning the power to admit pupils which was possessed by some of the corporations.¹⁵⁸ But of a more distinctly educational nature than the powers thus briefly noticed was the duty of supervision or examination of the master's work. How generally this duty was performed by the governors themselves cannot be estimated from the data contained in our material. But two cases, St. Bees and Hawkeshead, are mentioned. In Hawkeshead the governors or the greater part of them were "at leaste twyse eurie yeare and soe often besydes as neede shall require, vysitt the said Schole and shall make dyligent inquirie from time to time whether the Scholemaster, usher, and Schollers of the said Schole doe ther dewtie as becometh them or noe;" and if they found

¹⁵⁴ The fact that so much of the material for the present study has been obtained from copies and extracts of the statutes of the various grammar schools warrants the brief summary treatment of the subject of statutes, given in Appendix V., in which are considered such questions as the authority by which they were made, their authors, their aim, general view of provisions, and means taken for their preservation. Cf. Appendix V.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. *infra*. 62ff., 81ff.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Appendix F.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. *infra*, 64. Thus in St. Olaves the appointment of Master and Undermaster was to be made with the advice of the Bishop of Winchester, or, in his absence with the advice of "some honest and learned man." (L. P. 1570). Carlisle ii., 578.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. *infra*, 129.

"aniethinge amysse or out of Order," they were to "redresse and amende the same putclie or soe sone" as they could conveniently do so.¹⁵⁹ Among the duties of the governors of the school board at St. Bees was the following: "They shall also with the assistance of some godly and learned man examine the diligence and good behavior of the schoolmaster and see how his scholars do profit under him and whether he perform his Duty in bringing them up in Learning and in the fear of God or no," did they find him "notoriously negligent or given to grievous crime" they were to remove him.¹⁶⁰

The case just quoted may be regarded as a transition case between the visitation by the governors and the visitation by one to whom the power of visitor had been delegated. In the case of St. Alban's the change is complete. Here the school was to be visited annually by two learned men chosen once a year by the Mayor and Governors to visit the school and to examine the scholars in order that it might be discovered "how the scholars have profited in learning and how the schoolmaster hath done his duty in teaching them, and observed the Rules prescribed."¹⁶¹

While in Halsted the Governors of Christ Hospital were appointed visitors of the school at Halsted,¹⁶² yet the office of visitor seems to have been monopolized by the college and church. Thus at Bungay¹⁶³ the Masters and Fellows of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, while at Bedford the "Wardens and Fellows of New College" were appointed visitors;¹⁶⁴ at Berkhamstead this office was held by the Warden of the College of All Souls, Oxford;¹⁶⁵ while in New Port the Master of Cajus College, Cambridge, or his deputy, was made visitor by the will of the founder.¹⁶⁶ In Bunbury a preacher was to be visitor,¹⁶⁷

¹⁵⁹ Statutes quoted in Cowper's *Hawkeshead*, 483.

¹⁶⁰ Statutes, 1583, quoted in Carlisle i., 155-6.

¹⁶¹ Statutes, 1570, quoted in Carlisle i., 517.

¹⁶² Deed of Lady Mary Ramsay, 1594, C.C.R. xxxii., pt. 1., 754.

¹⁶³ Statutes, 1591, S.I.C. xvii., 135.

¹⁶⁴ Letters Patent, 1552, Carlisle i., 1. The Warden of the same college was made visitor of the school at Thame. Deed, 1574, Carlisle ii., 314.

¹⁶⁵ Act of Parliament, 1549-50. Carlisle i., 534.

¹⁶⁶ Deed, 1588. Carlisle i., 437.

¹⁶⁷ Statutes, 1594, S.I.C. xvii., 23.

while in Colchester that office was to be held by the Bishop of London,¹⁶⁸ and in Yarm by the Archbishop of York.¹⁶⁹

The powers and duties of visitors varied greatly. In Bunbury the preacher was to examine the school twice a year and to report to the governors anything which required to be amended.¹⁷⁰ In Colchester the Bishop was to cause the revenues of the possessions to be employed in the maintenance and support of the school and master,¹⁷¹ as well as to supervise both school and masters.¹⁷² In Thame¹⁷³ and in Berkhamstead¹⁷⁴ the visitor was to visit the school at least once in three years, and in the latter case he had power to dismiss the master and usher for not doing their duty and was to receive for his visitation 13s. 4d.¹⁷⁵ In Newport the visitor was to "set down such orders and rules as he thought convenient"¹⁷⁶ while in the case of Bedford the visitors had the power of appointment of master and usher¹⁷⁷ although it appears that the master and usher were actually appointed by the corporation.¹⁷⁸

Such were some of the provisions for the supervision of the masters and ushers whose importance makes necessary a detailed study of the subject of the teaching staffs of the grammar schools in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

¹⁶⁸ Letters Patent, 1584. C.C.R. xxxii., pt. 1., 526.

¹⁶⁹ Letters Patent, 1588. Carlisle ii., 915.

¹⁷⁰ Statutes, C.C.R. x., 194.

¹⁷¹ Letters Patent, 1584. Carlisle i., 424.

¹⁷² Letters Patent, 1584. C.C.R. xxxii., pt. 1., 526.

¹⁷³ Deed, 1574. Carlisle ii., 314.

¹⁷⁴ Carlisle i., 534.

¹⁷⁵ At Sutton Valence £4 were allowed for the annual visitation. Letters Patent, 1576. S.I.C. xi., 97.

¹⁷⁶ Carlisle i., 437.

¹⁷⁷ Letters Patent, 1552. Carlisle i., 1.

¹⁷⁸ C.C.R. vi., 5.

CHAPTER III

THE TEACHING STAFF OF THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL

The subject of the present chapter will be treated under the following topics: Size of Staff, Qualifications, Appointment, Term of Office, Removal, Stipend, and Duties and Conduct in Office.

SIZE OF STAFF

The teaching staff of the average English Grammar School in the reign of Queen Elizabeth was not a very large body; in many cases is consisted of but one person,¹ a master, "pedagogue" or "*ludimagister*;"² but in not a few cases the staff consisted of two, the master, "Hyghe Maister,"³ "Chief Schoole Maister,"⁴ or "*Archididascalus*,"⁵ and the usher, "under-master," "submaster," "Surmaister,"⁶ "*Hypodidascalus*,"⁷ or "*Ostiarius*,"⁸ while cases of staffs of three or more were very rare.⁹

QUALIFICATIONS OF MASTER AND USHER

For the sake of clearness of exposition it will be best to treat the qualifications of ushers before those of masters. For reasons

¹ The master of the school at Rugby had the title of "Schoolmaster of Lawrence Sheriffe of London, Grocer," Staunton, *The Great Public Schools of England*, 351, and Rouse, *History of Rugby*, 35.

² Terms commonly used in the Letters Patent of this period.

³ Term used in the Statutes of St. Paul's School (cf. Carlisle, ii., 71), and of the Merchant Taylors' School (cf. Carlisle, ii., 50).

⁴ Term used by the master at Wellingborough in 1597 in reference to himself (cf. Carlisle, ii., 227).

⁵ Term occurs in the Statutes of Westminster School (cf. Staunton, *The Great Public Schools of England*, 133).

⁶ Term used in the Statutes of St. Paul's School.

⁷ Term occurs in the Statutes of Westminster School.

⁸ Term used in the rules of the school at Manchester (cf. S. I. C., xvii., 314).

⁹ St. Paul's after 1602 had a staff of three, the office of 'Under-Usher' being substituted for that of Chaplain (cf. Staunton, *The Great Public Schools of England*, 187). Merchant Taylors' School was to have a staff of four, a High Master, a Chief Usher, and two Under Ushers (cf. Statutes, Carlisle, ii., 53). Shrewsbury had a staff of four (cf. Appendix L).

which will be noted later¹⁰ not much material concerning the qualifications of ushers is to be found and the qualifications given are generally rather indefinite. Thus in Rivington the usher was to be "a learned and honest man;"¹¹ in Thame, "an honest and discreet person, sufficiently enabled with learning;"¹² in Saint Bees, some poor scholar "that understandeth his grammar and can write a reasonable hand;"¹³ while in Kirkby Stephen "one of the poorest borne in the parish," "so that he be adorned with virtue and learning;"¹⁴ in the case of Merchant Taylors' School the chief usher was to be "some sober, discreet man, verteous in lyving, and well learned, some single or wedded man, or a priest that hath noe benefice with cure, office, nor service, that may lett his due diligence in the Schoole;"¹⁵ in Hexham the usher was to be "a sober discreet person," "a professor of true religion,"¹⁶ "furnished both with Latin and Greek,"¹⁷ and "able to read lectures in the master's absence;"¹⁸ while in Aldenham he was to "be and continue a single man, of good life and conversation, able at least to teach the introduction to grammar and inferior Latin books for the first two forms" as well as to "teach English books and fair writing and cipheryng and casting of accounts."¹⁹

The information concerning the qualifications of masters is more complete. In our treatment of this phase of the topic we

¹⁰ One apparent reason is that there were a less number of ushers than masters, but for other and more important reasons see *Infra*, p. 76, footnote 216).

¹¹ Carlisle, i., 716.

¹² Indenture, 1574. Carlisle, ii., 313.

¹³ Statutes. Carlisle, i., 157. Similarly in Burford it was provided that the master appoint some of his scholars "to instruct such as do learn the Accidence until a salary can be given to maintain an usher" (W. Monk, *History of Burford*, 133).

¹⁴ Statutes, 1566. Carlisle, ii., 717.

¹⁵ Statutes, Carlisle, ii., 53. Note similarity to Statutes of St. Paul's School which read, "some man vertuose in livinge, and well lettered, some single man or wedded, or a Preste that hath no benefice with cure, nor service that may let his due diligence in the Scole, ... a man hoole in body."—Statutes, Quoted in Staunton and in Carlisle, ii., 73.

¹⁶ In Ipswich the usher was to be approved "for his learning and religion."—Nathll Bacon, *The Annals of Ipsche*, 331.

¹⁷ Requirement not at all common.

¹⁸ Statutes, 1600. C. C. R., xxiii., 478.

¹⁹ Founder's Statutes, 1595. S. I. C., xii., 67.

shall proceed from the consideration of qualifications of secondary importance, such as those relating to place of birth, locality, age, marriage, and bodily condition, to the consideration of those of primary importance, such as moral, religious, and scholastic requirements.

In two instances at least, the candidate was to have been born in certain counties: in St. Bees, "within the Counties of Cumberland, York, Westmorland, or Lancaster;"²⁰ in Kirkby Lonsdale, "in Westmorland, Yorkshire, or Lancashire;"²¹ while in a third instance, that of Guisbrough, the master was to be "no Scot, or Stranger born."²² In Shrewsbury the master was to be selected from among the burgesses, if one could be found fit for the post; if not, then a native of Shropshire was to be chosen; or in default thereof, "a sufficient man" born in any other county or shire, preference to be given persons educated in the school at Shrewsbury.²³

In the few instances in which we have information concerning the age requirement it is rather high. Thus in Hexham the master was to be at least 26 years of age,²⁴ in Thame from 26 to 60,²⁵ and in Cheltenham²⁶ and Witton²⁷ at least 30 years of age; in Witton he was to be at least of that age "to the end that experience may appear in his conversation and life and that more obedience may be used towards him for the same."²⁸

With respect to the question of marriage there is but little information. In St. Paul's,²⁹ Merchant Taylors',³⁰ Abingdon³¹ and St. Mary Overey, the master might be "a wedded man" or "a single man."³² In Guisbrough the master was to be a priest, or, if such could not be obtained, "then a *Layman*, being *unmarried*;" if he married after being admitted to his office, his

²⁰ Archbishop Grindall's Statutes. Carlisle, i., 156.

²¹ Letters Patent, 1591. C. C. R., vii., 545.

²² Statutes, Carlisle, ii., 806, and S. I. C., xviii., 530.

²³ Indenture, 1571. Staunton, *The Great Public Schools*, 412.

²⁴ Statutes, 1600. C. C. R., xxiii., 478.

²⁵ Statutes, 1574. S. I. C., xii., 266.

²⁶ Deed, 1586. S. I. C., xv., 33.

²⁷ Founder's Statutes. Carlisle, i., 130.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 71.

³⁰ Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 50.

³¹ "Priest or wedded man." Deed, 1562. S. I. C., xi., 396.

³² Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 584.

position was thereby forfeited.³³ Similarly in Manchester³⁴ and Witton the master was to be "unmarried."³⁵

But little is said concerning the physical qualifications required of candidates. In Oundle,³⁶ Merchant Taylors',³⁷ and St. Paul's the master was to be "a man hoole in body,"³⁸ while in St. Mary Overey the expression used, "holy in body,"³⁹ would lead one to suspect that even in these few cases the qualification was a moral or religious one rather than purely physical.

Statements of moral qualifications are more frequent, although in most cases less specific than many of the qualifications thus far noted. Such phrases as the following indicate their general nature: "of good report,"⁴⁰ "well reported of,"⁴¹ "sober, discreet and undefamed,"⁴² "a meet person,"⁴³ "an honest and mete man,"⁴⁴ "fit and honest,"⁴⁵ "an honest and discreet person,"⁴⁶ "an honest person, sad and discreet,"⁴⁷ "an honest, sadde and discreete man,"⁴⁸ "honest and virtuous,"⁴⁹ and "honest in conditions and living."⁵⁰

More specific than the moral qualifications just quoted are the statements of religious requirements of candidates. In Woodstock the master was to be "a good preacher of the word of God;"⁵¹ in Oundle, "meet for his learning and dexterity in teaching and right understanding of good and true religion set

³³ Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 806; also, S. I. C., xviii., 530.

³⁴ Rules, 1525. S. I. C., xvii., 325.

³⁵ Statutes. Carlisle, i., 130.

³⁶ Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 214.

³⁷ Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 50.

³⁸ Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 71.

³⁹ Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 584.

⁴⁰ Oundle, Founder's Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 214.

⁴¹ Sandwich, Founder's Statutes. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 223-
Also Wakefield, Letters Patent, 1592. Carlisle, ii., 910.

⁴² Witton, Founder's Statutes. Carlisle, i., 130.

⁴³ St. Bees, Founder's Statutes. Carlisle, i., 156.

⁴⁴ Seven Oaks, Statutes made by Governors. Carlisle, i., 619.

⁴⁵ Grantham, Letters Patent, 1553. Carlisle, i., 805.

⁴⁶ Thame, Indenture, 1574. *Ibid*, ii., 313.

⁴⁷ Broughton in Preston, Deed, 1590. S. I. C., xvii., 197.

⁴⁸ Abingdon, Deed, 1562. S. I. C., xi., 396.

⁴⁹ St. Mary Overey, Merchant Taylors' and St. Paul's. *Loc. Cit.*

⁵⁰ Guisbrough, Founder's Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 806.

⁵¹ Founder's Will. Adolphus Ballard, *Chronicles of the Royal Borough of Woodstock*, 58.

forth by public authority;’’⁵² in Sandwich, ‘‘meet for his righte understandinge of Godes trewe religion nowe sett fourth by publique awthoritie;’’⁵³ while in Hexham the master was to be ‘‘a zealous and sound professor of true religion’’ and ‘‘a true abhorer of all papistry.’’⁵⁴ In some places the master was to be ‘‘a Priest in Orders at the time of his admission.’’⁵⁵ While such was the provision at Felsted,⁵⁶ Skipton,⁵⁷ and Thame,⁵⁸ St. Alban’s⁵⁹ and Seven Oaks⁶⁰ specified that the master should not be in Holy Orders. Other places like St. Mary Overey,⁶¹ Abingdon,⁶² Manchester,⁶³ and Merchant Taylor’s⁶⁴ and St. Paul’s⁶⁵ took a middle course by providing that the master might be a priest, but such a one as ‘‘hath no benefice with cure nor service, that may let his doing business in the School.’’⁶⁶ In Cheltenham both master and usher might be in orders,⁶⁷ while in the statutes of the schools at Oundle,⁶⁸ Sandwich,⁶⁹ and Witton,⁷⁰ there are no specifications as to whether or not the master may be a clergyman.

Among the statements of the scholastic qualifications there are not a few which possess the same general and vague character of the cases noted above. Their vagueness is illustrated by the following phrases in which they are couched: ‘‘a learned person;’’⁷¹ ‘‘honest and learned;’’⁷² ‘‘an honest, discreete and

⁵² Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 214.

⁵³ Founder’s Statutes. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 223.

⁵⁴ Statutes, 1600. C. C. R., xxiii., 478.

⁵⁵ Guisbrough, Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 806.

⁵⁶ Founder’s Statutes. Carlisle, i., 432.

⁵⁷ S. I. C., xviii., 260.

⁵⁸ Indenture, 1574. Carlisle, ii., 313.

⁵⁹ Statutes, 1570. Carlisle, i., 516.

⁶⁰ Statutes. Carlisle, i., 619.

⁶¹ Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 584.

⁶² Deed, 1562. S. I. C., xi., 396.

⁶³ Rules. S. I. C., xvii., 325.

⁶⁴ Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 50.

⁶⁵ Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 71.

⁶⁶ *Loc. Cit.*

⁶⁷ Deed, 1586. S. I. C., xv., 33.

⁶⁸ Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 214.

⁶⁹ Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 223.

⁷⁰ Carlisle, i., 130.

⁷¹ Abingdon, Deed, 1562. S. I. C., xi., 396. St. Bees, Statutes. Carlisle, i., 156.

⁷² Aldenham, Founder’s Statutes, 1599. S. I. C., xii., 65.

learned man;’’⁷³ ‘‘learned and cunning;’’⁷⁴ ‘‘sufficiently furnished and enabled with learning and discretion.’’⁷⁵ More specific, however, are the following characteristic qualifications: ‘‘learned in grammar and the Latin tongue;’’⁷⁶ ‘‘fit, able, and literate person, at least well instructed in Latin;’’⁷⁷ ‘‘sufficiently learned and expert in Grammar;’’⁷⁸ ‘‘sufficiently learned and exercised in *Grammar*;’’⁷⁹ of ‘‘good understandinge in the Greeke and Latyne tongues;’’⁸⁰ ‘‘well skilled in Latin and Greek;’’⁸¹ ‘‘well instructed and skilled in Latin and Greek Literature;’’⁸² ‘‘sufficiently learned to teach the scholars in Latin and Greek;’’⁸³ ‘‘able to teach Latin and Greek tongues learnedly and skilfully;’’⁸⁴ ‘‘an honest man, learnede in the Greek and Latin tongues, a good versifiere in both the foresayde languages, and able to write well (if possible it may bee);’’⁸⁵ and ability to ‘‘make Greek and Latin verses’’ and to ‘‘read and interpret the Greek grammar and other Greek authors.’’⁸⁶

From the above it would seem that the Greek requirement was not uncommon. Nevertheless there were still cases in which the proviso of Dean Colet’s statutes was included. Thus in the case of St. Mary Overey the master was to be ‘‘a man learned in good clean Latin literature, and also in Greek, if any may be got,’’⁸⁷ while in Dedham the master was to have sufficient

⁷³ Rugby, Founder’s Will, 1567. Staunton, *The Great Public Schools of England*, 351.

⁷⁴ Halifax, Letters Patent, 1583. Carlisle, ii., 809.

⁷⁵ Thame, Indenture, 1574. Carlisle, ii., 313.

⁷⁶ Lowestoft, Deed, 1571. C. C. R., xxii., 179.

⁷⁷ Bath, Letters Patent, 1553. S. I. C., xiv., 178.

⁷⁸ Seven Oaks, Statutes. Carlisle, i., 619.

⁷⁹ Guisbrough, Founder’s Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 806; also S. I. C., xviii., 530.

⁸⁰ Hawkeshead, Statutes. H. S. Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 473.

⁸¹ Hexham, Statutes, 1600. C. C. R., xxiii., 478.

⁸² Grantham, Letters Patent, 1553. Carlisle, ii., 805.

⁸³ Cheltenham, Deed, 1586. S. I. C., xv., 33.

⁸⁴ Lincoln, Deed, 1583. C. C. R., xxxii., pt. iv., 349.

⁸⁵ Croydan, Deed, 1599. S. I. C., xi., 160.

⁸⁶ St. Bees, Statutes. Carlisle, i., 156. Also Kirkby Lonsdale, Letters Patent, 1591. C. C. R., vii., 545.

⁸⁷ Statutes, 1565. Carlisle, ii., 584. Almost an exact copy of Dean Colet’s statute which reads, ‘‘lerned in good and cleane Laten literature, and also in Greke, yf such may be gotten.’’ Carlisle, ii., 71. The wording of this statute in the statutes of the Merchant Taylors’ School is also very similar. Cf. Carlisle, ii., 50.

knowledge of the Greek tongue "to teach the scholars the principles thereof."⁸⁸

Not infrequently the scholastic requirements were stated in terms of years to be spent in residence at Cambridge or Oxford. Thus in Ringwood the master was to be chosen from "such as have been students in either of the Universities of Cambridge or Oxford;"⁸⁹ in Halifax the master was to have been "a student in one of the Universities of this Realm of England the space of *Five years* at the least" and such a student as "hath well profited in Learning."⁹⁰ But more frequently this requirement appears stated in terms of academic degrees which were to have been received from one of the Universities. While in Newcastle under Lyme the master was to be a Bachelor of Arts of either Cambridge or Oxford,⁹¹ in not a few cases he was to hold the degree of Master of Arts.⁹² In the case of Thame the master was to be a Master of Arts, or a Bachelor of Arts of eight years standing in Oxford University,⁹³ while in the cases of Rugby⁹⁴ and Sandwich⁹⁵ the M. A. qualification was conditioned by the proviso. clause "yf it mai be convenientlie."⁹⁶

⁸⁸ Statutes, 1579. C. C. R., xxvii., 217.

⁸⁹ Deed, 1586. C. C. R., xiv., 530.

⁹⁰ Letters Patent, 1585. Carlisle, ii., 809.

⁹¹ Founder's Will. Elizabeth's reign. Carlisle, ii., 482. In Reading the matter appointed in 1588 was a B. A., while the one appointed in 1589 held the M. A. degree. Guilding, *Reading Records*, i., 386, 392.

⁹² Required in the following places:

Aldenham, Statutes, 1599. S. I. C., xii., 65.

Ashborne, Letters Patent. Carlisle, i., 207.

Boxford, Letters Patent, 1596. C. C. R., xxi., 552.

Cheltenham, Deed, 1586. S. I. C., xv., 33.

Dedham, Statutes, 1579. C. C. R., xxvii., 217. M. A. of one year's standing.

Hexham, Statutes, 1599. C. C. R., xxiii., 478.

Lincoln, Deed, 1583. C. C. R., xxxii., pt. iv., 349.

Oundle, Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 214.

Stevenage, Founder's Will. Carlisle, i., 553.

Tunbridge, Statutes. Carlisle, i., 628.

Bungay, Deed, 1591. Carlisle, ii., 511. Preference was to be given to Fellows of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

⁹³ Statutes, 1574. S. I. C., xii., 266.

⁹⁴ Founder's Will, 1567. Rouse, *History of Rugby*, Ap. 1.

⁹⁵ Statutes. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 223.

⁹⁶ The master at Rugby from 1580 to 1581 held B. A. degree. Rouse, *History of Rugby*, 35.

APPOINTMENT OF MASTER AND USHER

As in our discussion of the previous topic we shall treat the master and usher separately.

Power to appoint the master was given (1) to the founder of the school during his life and to his heirs or some other person or persons after his death,⁹⁷ (2) to the governors of the school,⁹⁸ (3) to colleges, (4) to the clergy, or (5) to royal or civil authorities. The first two classes will need but little discussion as they have been noted in previous chapters.

While in Kirkby Stephen⁹⁹ and other places¹⁰⁰ the master was to be appointed by the founder during his life, there are instances in which this appointive power was extended to relatives and heirs of the founder. Thus in Colne the master was to be appointed by two cousins of the founder and their heirs and assigns;¹⁰¹ at Hawkeshead the privilege was extended to the founder's son;¹⁰² at Dronfield it was extended to the heir of the founder;¹⁰³ in Ringwood the master was to be appointed by heirs or owners of estates of the founder;¹⁰⁴ in Leeds the master was to be appointed by the heirs of the founder and by his feoffees,¹⁰⁵ while in other places the right to appoint the master was to belong to the governors after the death of the founder.¹⁰⁶

The second class (appointive power vested in governors) was probably the largest one. As the cases belonging to this class were merely cited in Chapter II., it remains to give some of the conditions by which the governors of a few of the schools were

⁹⁷ Cf. *Supra* p. 17.

⁹⁸ Non-incorporated governors, Cf. Appendix D. To the list there given might be added Abingdon (Deed, 1562. S. I. C., xi., 396) and Blackrod (Will of John Holmes, 1568. C. C. R., xix., 185), where the appointment was to be made by the trustees.

Incorporated trustees: College, *Supra*, p. 31. Guild, *Supra*, p. 33. Town, Appendix E.

Incorporated Governors, Appendix F.

⁹⁹ Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 715.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *Supra*, p. 17.

¹⁰¹ A. E. W. Marsh, *A History of the Borough and Town of Colne*, 209.

¹⁰² H. S. Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 474.

¹⁰³ True of appointment of usher also. Carlisle, i., 222.

¹⁰⁴ Will of Founder, 1586. C. C. R., xiv., 530.

¹⁰⁵ Will of the Founder. Carlisle, ii., 841.

¹⁰⁶ E. G. Drayton, Deed, 2nd and 3rd Philip and Mary. C. C. R., xxiv., 301. True also of appointment of usher.

limited. In Witton the master was to be elected by the feoffees and "certain of the honest men of the parish,"¹⁰⁷ while the feoffees of the school in Crewkerne were to take unto themselves "six of the most discreet men of the town of Crewkerne" when they elected a master.¹⁰⁸ In the cases of Monmouth,¹⁰⁹ Gillingham,¹¹⁰ and Drayton¹¹¹ the master was to be elected with the advice and consent of the vicar of the parish church. In Guildford¹¹² he was to be appointed by the governors with the advice and consent of the Bailiffs of the King's Manor of Guildford;¹¹³ in Stanford he was elected by the governors with the advice and consent of the Master and College of St. John the Evangelist, Cambridge;¹¹⁴ while in the case of Aldenham the Master and Fellows of Saint John's College, Cambridge, were to nominate three persons from whom the governors were to select one who was not to be admitted to office until he had been examined "by some learned" man selected by the governors for that purpose, and until he was found "meet to govern both for his learning, piety, religion, belief, and dexterity in teaching."¹¹⁵ In Shrewsbury, while the formal appointment of the master was to be by the Bailiffs, the real right of selection was transferred by Indenture, 1571, to St. John's College, Cambridge,¹¹⁶ and hence the case really belongs under the third class in which the appointive power is vested in College authorities.

Among the colleges vested with this appointive power St. John's College, Cambridge, is most frequently found in our material, for besides being indirectly connected with the election of the master at Aldenham, and Stanford, it had the selection of

¹⁰⁷ Founder's Statutes. Carlisle, i., 130. In 1561 there appears to have been some trouble about the selection of a new master. Cf. Appendix K.

¹⁰⁸ Deed, 1577. C. C. R., ix., 478.

¹⁰⁹ Letters Patent, 1543. Carlisle, ii., 164.

¹¹⁰ Decree of Commission, 1599. Carlisle, i., 372.

¹¹¹ After death of founder. Deed. C. C. R., xxiv., 301.

¹¹² True of usher also.

¹¹³ Continued until vi. Chas. I. Carlisle, ii., 566.

¹¹⁴ Act of Parliament, 1548. Carlisle, i., 847. C. C. R., xxxii. pt. 4, 279.

¹¹⁵ Founder's Statutes, 1599. S. I. C., xii., 65.

¹¹⁶ Staunton, *The Great Public Schools of England*, 412.

the master at Shrewsbury,¹¹⁷ Rivington,¹¹⁸ and Pocklington.¹¹⁹ The only other Cambridge college possessing this power, which is contained in our material, was Emmanuel College, the Master Fellows, and Scholars of which were to have the nomination of the master of the school at Bungay.¹²⁰ Among the Oxford colleges which possessed a similar power were Queen's College, whose Provost was to appoint the master of the school at St. Bees,¹²¹ All Souls College, the Warden, or Sub-Warden, and Six Senior Fellows of which were to hold the nomination of the master of the school at Faversham,¹²² Corpus Christi College which had the nomination of the master and usher of the school at Cheltenham,¹²³ and the College of Blessed Mary and All Saints Lincoln, the Rector and Scholars of which were to nominate two persons for the vacancy, whenever such occurred at Sandwich, one of whom the governors were to elect as master.¹²⁴

While the clergy as advisers¹²⁵ and as members of governing bodies¹²⁶ were indirectly concerned with the appointment of masters, there are a few instances in which they had the direct appointive power. Thus in the case of Tenderden the master was chosen by the vicar of the parish;¹²⁷ in that of Lowestoft he was to be chosen by the chancellor of the diocese of Norwich¹²⁸ in that of Barnestaple he was to be appointed by Bishop of Exeter;¹²⁹ in that of Heighington he was to be elected by the

¹¹⁷ Subject to the limitations imposed by the qualifications. Cf. *Supra* P. 57.

¹¹⁸ Here the Masters and Fellows were limited in their choice to two persons nominated by the governors of the school. Carlisle, i., 715.

¹¹⁹ Choice to be made by Masters and Fellows. Act of Parliament, 5 Edward VI. C. C. R., xix., 542.

¹²⁰ Deed, 1591. Carlisle, ii., 511.

¹²¹ Letters Patent, 1583. Carlisle, i., 152.

¹²² Jacob, *History of Faversham*, 55.

¹²³ Carlisle, i., 446.

¹²⁴ Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 201.

¹²⁵ Vide cases of Monmouth, Gillingham, and Drayton, *supra*, p. 63.

¹²⁶ Vide cases of Gainsborough, Giggleswick, and Kirkby Lonsdale, *supra*, p. 39.

¹²⁷ Report of Archbishop Parker to the Barons of the Exchequer, 1562. Strype, *Life of Parker*, Vol. I., 228.

¹²⁸ Deed, 1571. C. C. R., xxii., 179.

¹²⁹ Gribble, *Memorials of Barnestaple*, 521.

Dean and Chapter of Durham;¹³⁰ while in those of Croydon¹³¹ and Rochdale¹³² he was to be chosen by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Still less numerous are the instances to be classed under the fifth class, in which the appointive power was vested in royal or civil authority. In Pontefract¹³³ the master was to be chosen by the chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, while in Berkhamsted the power to appoint the master was vested in the Crown by an act of Parliament.¹⁴⁰

Before proceeding to the consideration of some of the provisions made to insure the election of masters let us note a few cases which do not belong to any of the classes just described. The first is that of Eye where the master was to be elected by the "feoffees of the town lands and the more substantial inhabitants of the borough;"¹⁴¹ the second is that of Sudbury where "since 36 Henry VIII., the masters have been chosen by the owners of the inappropriate rectory, rectorial tithes, etc. of St. Gregory;"¹⁴² the third is that of Burford where according to the founder's statutes the master was to be elected by "three voices," "the first by the donors of any lands or annuities for the maintenance of the school during their lives," "the second by the alderman and steward for the time being" and "the third by the bailiffs;"¹⁴³ while the fourth case is that of Wellingborough where the master and usher were to be chosen "by the most part of the Inhabitants of the Town of Wellingborough that were assessed to Subsidy last before the same choice."¹⁴⁴

In not a few places precautions were taken to insure the actual appointment of the master within a specified time, which varied from twenty days to six months, by providing a second authority by whom the master was to be appointed in case of the failure of the first to appoint within the specified time. The following table gives the information contained in our material upon this subject.

¹³⁰ Deed, 1601. S. I. C., xix., 43.

¹³¹ Statutes, about 1600. C. C. R., xxxi., 871. *Sede vacante*, by parson of Lambeth and Vicar of Croydon.

¹³² Deed, 1564. S. I. C., xvii., 390; also C. C. R., xix., 267.

¹³³ Decree of the Duchy Court of Lancaster, 1583. C. C. R., xxxii., pt. ii., 811.

¹⁴⁰ 2nd and 3rd Edward VI., S. I. C., xii., 74. *Vide* case of Berkhamsted, *Supra*, p. 41.

¹⁴¹ Constitutions of the Borough of Eye, 1566. C. C. R., xxii., 141.

¹⁴² C. C. R., xx., 574.

¹⁴³ Founder's Statutes, 1571. S. I. C., xii., 217.

¹⁴⁴ Statutes, 1596. Carlisle, ii., 227.

Table

Place.	Specified Time.	Authority by whom appointment was to be made in case of failure to appoint within specified time.
Hemsworth,	20 days.	Dean and Chapter of York Cathedral. ¹⁴⁵
Hawkeshead,	30 days.	Bishop of the Diocese. ¹⁴⁸
Croydon,	1 month.	Archdeacon of Canterbury. ¹⁴⁷
Kirkby Stephen,	1 month.	Founder's Heirs. ¹⁴⁸
Sandwich,	40 days.	Archbishop of Canterbury, or <i>sede vacante</i> , Dean of Canterbury. ¹⁴⁹
Halifax,	6 weeks.	Archbishop of York, or, <i>sede vacante</i> , Dean of the Cathedral Church. ¹⁵⁰
Felsted,	6 weeks.	Bishop of London. ¹⁵¹
Whitchurch,	6 weeks.	Earl of Shrewsbury. ¹⁵²
Pocklington,	2 months.	Archbishop of York. ¹⁵³
Faversham,	2 months.	Archbishop of Canterbury. ¹⁵⁴
Saint Bees,	2 months.	Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. ¹⁵⁵
Lincoln,	3 months.	Corporation. ¹⁵⁶
Rochdale,	3 months.	Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. ¹⁵⁷
Atherstone,	6 months.	Bishop of Diocese. ¹⁵⁸
Liverpool,	Indefinite.	¹⁵⁹

¹⁴⁵ Founder's Statutes. Carlisle, ii, 818.¹⁴⁸ Founder's Statutes. H. S. Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 474.¹⁴⁷ Statutes, about 1600. C. C. R., xxxi., 872.¹⁴⁸ Nominally this authority was the Archbishop of York, but really the authority given, since the Archbishop was to appoint the one whom the heirs of the founder should "notice or name" and "none other." Statutes, 1566. Carlisle, ii., 715.¹⁴⁹ Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 201.¹⁵⁰ Letters Patent, 1585. Carlisle, ii., 809.¹⁵¹ Deed, 1564. C. C. R., xxix., pt. i., 206.¹⁵² Statutes, 1550 (in effect in 1570). C. C. R., xxiv., 337.¹⁵³ Act of Parliament, 1552. C. C. R., xix., 542.¹⁵⁴ Letters Patent, 1576. Carlisle, i., 575.¹⁵⁵ Statutes, 1583. Carlisle, i., 156.¹⁵⁶ Deed, 1583. C. C. R., xxxii., pt. iv., 349.¹⁵⁷ Or in his absence, the Vice-President of the same college. Indenture, 1564. C. C. R., xix., 267.¹⁵⁸ Letters Patent, 1573. C. C. R., xxix., 955.¹⁵⁹ Such at least would appear from the following entry in the records.
"22 Oct., 1599, ordered:

That Sr Thomas Waineweighte shall kepe
schole here until God sende us some sufficient learned man, and noe

In a few of these places additional precautions were taken to insure the actual appointment of the master. Thus in Hems-worth, if the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church in York failed to appoint the master within twenty days after they received notice of the vacancy, the householders of the Parish or "so many of them as should repair to the church when so warned by the Parson, Vicar or Curate, or by two honest persons of the Parish" were to "nominate *Nine* honest Householders, who with the Archdeacon, Parson, or Curate" were for that time to have "the grant of the office to such person as should be apte and able thereunto;"¹⁸⁰ in Hawkeshead, if the Bishop of the Diocese failed to appoint within thirty days, the appointment was to be made by the Dean and Chapter of Chester;¹⁸¹ while in Felsted, if the nomination were not made by the Bishop of London, the appointment was to return to the heirs of the founder.¹⁸²

After the master was appointed he was not admitted into office until he had been examined and "allowed" by the Bishop of the Diocese. This was in accordance with the Crown's Injunctions of 1559, the one referring to this matter reading, "XL. Item, that no man shall take upon him to teach but such as shall be allowed by the ordinary and found meet as well for his learning and dexterity in teaching as for sober and honest conversation, and also for right understanding of God's true religion."¹⁸³ This injunction was made a law in 1581, when the following act was passed:

"VI. And be it further enacted, That if any Person or Persons, Body Politick or Corporate, after the Feast of Pentecost next coming shall keep or maintain any Schoolmaster which shall not repair to Church as is aforesaid,¹⁸⁴ or be allowed by the Bishop or Ordinary of the Diocese where such Schoolmaster shall be so kept, shall forfeit and lose for every Month so keeping him, Ten Pounds.

longer, and to receive the wages to be deduced out of the Scholemasters, stipend according to the tyme." Sir James Picton, *City of Liverpool*, p. 100.

¹⁸⁰ Founder's Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 818.

¹⁸¹ Founder's Statutes. H. S. Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 474.

¹⁸² Deed, 1564. C. C. R., xxix., pt. i., 206.

¹⁸³ Quoted in Cardwell's *Annals*, Vol. i., 195.

¹⁸⁴ Every Sunday and Holyday. Statute, Eliz. 1, Cap. 2.

"And such Schoolmaster or Teacher, presuming to teach contrary to this Act, and being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be disabled to be a Teacher of Youth and shall suffer Imprisonment without Bail or Mainprise for one Year."¹⁶⁶

It is very apparent that the rigid enforcement of this law would mean that the appointment of all the masters in the realm was virtually in the hands of the Church for the Bishop or Ordinary of the Diocese by refusing to grant a license¹⁶⁶ to the candidate selected by the proper authorities could thereby thwart their desires,¹⁶⁷ for the license was necessary and could be granted by no other bishop than the one who presided over the diocese in which the school was located.¹⁶⁸ Efforts were made by the government to enforce the law through the agency of the church. Shortly before its passage the Council addressed a letter to Archbishop Grindle requesting him to cause "all such schoolmasters as have charge of children, to be by the

¹⁶⁶ Statutes, (Jan. 16, 1581). Anno 23^o, Eliz. C. 1.

¹⁶⁶ For specimen licenses see Appendix I.

¹⁶⁷ This power of the bishop is illustrated in the case of Harrison, Schoolmaster at Aylesham in 1573, the details of whose experience are given by Strype in his *Life of Parker*, Vol. II., 335-37. In 1573 the mastership of the free school at Aylesham became vacant. Of the three men who applied for the position, Mr. Harrison, M. A., Cambridge, appeared to be best qualified and was highly recommended by the Mayor and Aldermen of Norwich. Rumors of Harrison's lack of complete conformity, however, had reached Archbishop Parker, who wrote and urged the Bishop of Norwich not to admit Harrison, who was finally admitted upon condition that he would keep and execute the statutes of the school, in reading the authors there appointed (it had been asserted that he had condemned the reading of profane authors to children), that he would quarrel neither with his Pastor nor with his neighbors, that he would hold no "strange opinions" nor defend them obstinately in prophesying, or any other conference, and that "he should use no unlawful games, neither vain nor disordered company." Harrison's term of office was not long. While acting as godfather to an infant about to be baptised he requested the Deacon "to change the word of the bok, viz., *thou* into *you*; and to leave out the sign of the cross: as for *Dost thou forsake*, he would have had him to say, *Do you forsake*; for *Dost thou believe*, *Do you believe*; and when it was asked, *Wilt thou be baptizd in this faith?* it was answered, *We do bring this child to be baptizd into the faith of Christ.*" Such signs of non-conformity could not be tolerated in a schoolmaster and the Bishop declared his position forfeited, and appointed or admitted a Mr. Sutton whose candidacy had been supported by Archbishop Parker.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Adams, *Elementary School Contest*, p. 22.

Bishop of the diocese, or such as he shall appoint, examined touching their religion''¹⁶⁹ and giving him power to have such as were found "corrupt and unworthy" displaced and to have "fit and sound persons placed in their rooms." But neither in this letter nor in the articles of visitation issued by Archbishop Grindle upon receipt of the letter from the Council,¹⁷⁰ is there any references to the subject of licenses. But in the directions for inquiry in his diocese in 1581 after the passage of the act requiring the teachers to be licensed by the bishop of the diocese, Archbishop Grindle ordered the authorities to "inquire whether any schoolmaster of suspected religion or that is not licensed to teach by the bishop or ordinary doth teach in any public or private place within the diocese."¹⁷¹ Similar articles were included in Archbishop Whitgift's Articles of Visitation of the diocese of Chichester in 1585 and of the diocese of Sarum in 1588.¹⁷²

While the government thus worked through the agency of the Church it also in a few cases came in contact directly with the school through the granting of Letters Patent. Thus in the Letters Patent issued to the school at Halifax in 1585 it was provided that when the governors had appointed the master, they were to present him to the Archbishop of York, "*Seda Archiepiscopali plena*," or, "*eadem Sede vacante*," to the Dean of the Cathedral Church of York, who was to certify as to the fitness of the candidate.¹⁷³ A similar provision was made in the Letters Patent of the school at Ipswich in 1565 where the governors were given power to "present any fit person to undertake the office of headmaster to the Bishop of Norwich for the time being to be examined by said ordinary."¹⁷⁴ Our material contains two instances of the execution of this provision. In 1580 it was ordered that a certain Mr. John Smith¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Thesis, Appendix J.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Thesis, Appendix J.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Thesis, Appendix J.

¹⁷² Cf. Thesis, Appendix J.

¹⁷³ Carlisle, ii., 809; also C. C. R., xviii., 569.

¹⁷⁴ C. C. R., xix., 456.

¹⁷⁵ The following letter of recommendation was written for this Mr. Smith by John Fox, the martyrologist:

"Jesus.

forasmuch as thys yong ma' for whom I wryte ys not so well known to

be "presented to the Bishop of Norwich for his allowance of him to be m^r of the Grammar School,"¹⁷⁶ while in 1586 Mr. John Burtley, M. A., was ordered to be presented to the Bishop of Norwich "for enjoying of the Mastership of the Grammar School of this Towne."¹⁷⁷

Some of the deeds and statutes also contain references to the subject of licenses. Thus in Daventry¹⁷⁸ and Cheltenham¹⁷⁹ the candidate was to be presented to the bishop or ordinary of the diocese for examination. In the case of Witton the candidate was to be examined by the Bishop of Chester and by the master of the King's Grammar School of Chester, "as well for discretion as for learning."¹⁸⁰ At Hawkeshead the appointment of the master was to be with "the assent of the Bishoppe of Cheister"¹⁸¹ and the master was to be "allowed by the Ordinarie of the place for the time being, according to the Statute in that case

your honour peradventure, as he is to me by long acquayntance and co'tinuance, to signifie therefore to your Lordshyp not only upon privat affection, but upon truth and knowledge in his behalf: thys is breifly to testifie to your Lordshyp that if ye town of Ypsewych stands in neade of a worthy, godly and lerned scholmaster for all such indowme'ts and ornam'ts requisite in such a fu'ction, or trew religion, lernyng, diligence, and practice, for these and such other giftes and abilitie, I know not how nor where they may better spedd then in receauyng thys Mr. J. Smythe, beyng hymself born in ye same town of ypsewych, whom both present occasion of time and ye good vocation of Jesus Christ, I trust offered now to them. Certifyeing moreouer your good Lordship, and not only you, but also ye whole town of ypsewych, that whosoever shall receaue hym for guydyng of theire scholers shal doe no such pleasure to hym, as profyts to themselues, and co'moditie to their youghth.

D. iesus tibi benedicat et anis. Amen.

Yours in Christ iesu

Joh. foxe.

Lond. Noueb. 23

To ye ryght honorable and hys very good Lord.
ye Lord Chiefe Justice of England."

Quoted from Harl. MS. 416 ff. 155. in Nathll Bacon, *The Annals of Ipswche*, 326.

¹⁷⁶ Nathll Bacon, *The Annals of Ipswch*, 326.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 347.

¹⁷⁸ Deed, 1576. C. C. R., xiii., 10.

¹⁷⁹ Deed, 1586. S. I. C., xv., 33.

¹⁸⁰ Statutes, 1558. Carlisle, i., 130.

¹⁸¹ Statutes, 1588. Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 472.

provided."¹⁸² In Sandwich before the master was admitted he was "to be first allowed by the ordynaire and by examynacion fownd meete bothe for his learnynge and discreacion of teachynge as also for his honest conversacion and righte understandynge of Godes trewe religion nowe sett forth by publique awethoritie;"¹⁸³ while in the case of Chesterfield¹⁸⁴ it is expressly stated in the Will of the Founder of the School that the master must be examined and approved by the Archbishop of York.¹⁸⁵

In a few cases more of the details of election, appointment, and admission to office are given. In Sandwich a special arrangement was made between the governors of the grammar school and the Rector and Scholars of the College of Blessed Mary and All Saints Lincoln, Oxford, concerning the appointment of master after the death of the founder;¹⁸⁶ by this arrangement within twenty days after the office of master became vacant notice was to be given at the College House to the said Rector and Scholars, who within the next twenty days were to deliver in writing and under their common seal to the Mayor of Sandwich, or to the usher at the schoolhouse, the names of two duly qualified persons, fellows of the said college.¹⁸⁷

In the case of Thame, as soon as a vacancy occurred, the usher was to notify the Warden and Nine Senior Fellows of New College who were to send the names of two properly qualified persons to the founder or his heirs by whom one of the names must be chosen within four days. Within two days after his election the master was to read either in the chapel or some other part of the College the statute, "*De Officio Paedagogi*" and must promise to fulfil to the best of his ability the office of master. As a pledge that he would fulfill his duty he was compelled to give a bond of £20, which was to be forfeited by him should he receive three warnings *supinae negligentiae*, and should he after

¹⁸² Statutes, 1588. *Ibid*, 473.

¹⁸³ Statutes, 1580. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 223.

¹⁸⁴ Carlisle, i., 215.

¹⁸⁵ The law was not carried out in all parts of the country as is indicated by a report to the Council concerning the bad state of affairs in Lancashire and Cheshire in 1591. The report concerning this subject being, "no examination is had of schools and schoolmasters."—Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1591-1594, p. 158.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Thesis, p. 17.

¹⁸⁷ Statutes, 1580. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 201.

the fourth warning refuse to pay the money, the office was to be declared vacant, but otherwise the office was to be perpetual.¹⁸⁸

In Hexham there was to be a meeting of the Governors on the Sunday following the vacancy. The records are not clear as to whether the election of a new master was to take place at this meeting or the matter merely discussed. But however that might be the usher was to keep a record of the election. An instrument of presentation was to be issued to the master elect who was to present himself to the Archbishop of York, or, *sede vacante*, to the Dean of the Cathedral Church of York, for "approbation." If approved, he was to subscribe to the articles of religion and to take the oath of supremacy. The Archbishop or the Dean was then to issue a certificate which he presented to the governors, who administered the oath prescribed by the statutes and then admitted him to the office of master.¹⁸⁹

The ceremonies of admission varied. In Ashborne it would seem from the Letters Patent of 1585 that there were to be no such ceremonies.¹⁹⁰ In Wakefield they appear to have consisted of an oath taken by the master in the presence of the assembled governors before entering upon the duties of his office that he would be faithful to those duties.¹⁹¹ In St. Albans the master before being admitted to take, before the Mayor and the major part of the Burgesses, "the Oath mentioned in the Statutes *anno Primo* of the Queen's Majestie according as by the Statute of *anno Quinto* of her reign all Schoolmasters be appointed."¹⁹² The ceremonies in the cases of St. Paul's and the Merchant Taylors' were to be very similar. The Statute concerned with this subject in the Statutes of St. Paul is quoted here in the text and that of Merchant Taylors' in the accompanying footnote for the purpose of showing the similarity between the two.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁸ Statutes, 1574. S. I. C., xii., 266.

¹⁸⁹ Statutes, 1600. C. C. R., xxiii., 478-79.

¹⁹⁰ Carlisle, i., 209.

¹⁹¹ Letters Patent, 1592. Carlisle, ii., 911.

¹⁹² Statutes, 1570. Carlisle, i., 515.

¹⁹³ "This High Master so being chosen shall have his charge given to him by the Maister and Wardens of the said Company, for the tyme being, then being present in the said Schoole, saying to him on this wise, or such like in effect:

"Sir, we have chosen you to be chief Maister and Teacher of this

"The Mercers shall assemble together in the Schole-house, with such advice and counsellors of well literature and learned men as they can get; they shall choose this Maister, and give unto him his charge, saying unto him on this wyse:

" 'Sir, we have chosen you to be Maister and Teacher of this Schole, to teach the children of the same not only good literature, but also good manners, certifying you that this is no room of Continuance and Perpetuity, but upon your duty in the Schole. And, every yere at *Candlemass*, when the mercers be assembled in the Schole-house, ye shall submit you to our examination, and founde doing your duty accordingly, ye shall continue; otherwise reasonably warned, ye shall content you to departe; and you of your part, not warned of us, but of your mynd, in any season willing to departe, ye shall give us warning Twelve months before, without we can be shortlyer well provided of another. Also, being Maister, ye shall not absent you, but upon license of the Surveyors being for the time being. Also, yf any controversy and stryfe shall be betwixt you and the Surmaister, or the Chapelyne of the Schole, ye shall stand at the direction of the Surveyors being for that yere.'

"And, yf the chosen Maister will promise this, thenne admyt him and name him to it, and stall him in his seat in the Schole, and shew him his Lodgings." ¹⁹⁴

Schoole, to teach the Children of the same, not only good literature but also good manners, certifying you, that this is no room of continuance and perpetuity, but upon the doing of your duty in the Schoole. And every yere when as The Maister, Wardens, and Assistants, shalbe assembled in the Schoole howse, concerning the Visitation thereof, you shall submit you to their examinacion, and, found doing your duty accordingly, you shall continue, otherwise, reasonably warned, you shall content you to departe; and, ye, of your party, not warned of us, but of your owne mynd in any season willing to departe, ye shall give us warning Twelve monethes before, without we can shortlyer be well provided of another to supply your room.

"Also, being Maister ye shall not be absent from the said School above Twenty working dayes in the year, which also shall be (*conjunctim* or *divisum*), without some urgent cause, and good considerations shall move the Surveyors of the said Schoole for the time being to graunt a further time of absence, and that the Chief Usher nor Under Ushers be not then absent from the Schoole."—The next clause is quoted almost *verbatim* from the statutes of St. Paul's School.—Carlisle, ii., 50.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Carlisle, ii., 72.

In Witton the new schoolmaster was to be escorted to the schoolhouse by the master of the King's Grammar school of Chester, by the Feoffees of the School, and by "certain honest men of the Parish" amongst whom 40s. were to be distributed for their trouble at each "placing." The master was to be shown his lodgings, lands, houses, tenements, etc., the condition of the school, and "then and there" the Orders, Rules, Laws, and Statutes were to be read to him in order that he might understand "his charge and what is required at his hands."¹⁹⁵

In Kirkby Stephen the master was to meet in the parish church at least two of the Governors, the heir or heirs of the founder, the Churchwardens, and twelve men of the parish, in the presence of whom he was to take the following oath:

"I do swear by the contents of this book, that I shall freely without exacting any money, diligently instruct and teach the children of this parish, and all others that shall resort to me, in Grammar and other humane doctrine, according to the statutes thereof made,—and I shall not read to them any corrupt or reprobate books or works set forth at any time contrary to the determination of the universal catholique church, whereby they may be infected in their youth in any kind of heresie or corrupt doctrine, or else to be indured to insolent manner of living: And further shall observe all the statutes and ordinances of this schoole now made, or hereafter to be made which concern me, and shall doe nothing in the prejudice thereof, but help to maintain the same from time to time during my aboad herein to the best of my power—so help my God, and the contents of this book."¹⁹⁶

Similar to the above oath was that to be taken by every schoolmaster of East Retford, who before his admission was to be sworn upon the Holy Bible before the Archbishop of York, or "his lawful Deputy or Deputies," and was to recite the following oath:

"I, A. B., being elected and named as Master of the King's Majesty's Free School of East Retford, in the County of Nottingham, from this present time so long as I shall be master of the said School, shall not receive nor take any annual Service or

¹⁹⁵ Statutes, 1558. Carlisle, i., 130.

¹⁹⁶ Statutes, 1561. Carlisle, ii., 714.

yearly Salary, Stipend, or Wages of any person, or persons, which shall or may be hurtful, prejudicial, or hindrance unto the Godly bringing up or virtuous instructing of the Scholars of the said School,—and furthermore, I shall not fraudulently, maliciously, nor wittingly of my part neglect or break any Ordinance or Statute of the said School lawfully set forth and made, so far as to me doth appertain. But shall inviolately observe and keep them, and every one of them, as near as God shall give me grace, as God help and the Holy contents of this Book.”¹⁹⁷

The master was then to be put in possession of his office by at least six of the Bailiffs and Burgesses, governors of the school, who were to deliver the *hesp* of the School-house into his hand and to say:

“Sir, Ye are chosen to be School-master of this School, to teach Scholars hither resorting, not only Grammar and other virtuous doctrine but also good Manners, according to the intent of the most excellent and virtuous Prince King Edward the Sixth, Founder of the same—

“Whereupon we assure this to you a room of perpetual continuance, upon your good demeanour and duty to be done within this Grammar School.”¹⁹⁸

Before proceeding to the discussion of the next topic of the chapter, the Term of office of Master and Usher, let us note briefly the data concerning the Appointment and Admission of Usher.

While in a large number of cases the power to appoint the usher was vested in the governors of the school,¹⁹⁹ yet in not a few instances the master was directly or indirectly concerned with the appointment of usher. Thus in Ipswich the power to appoint the usher was vested in the governors who, however, were to “appoint such a man as the master should think fit” for the office.²⁰⁰ In Pontefract the usher was to be appointed

¹⁹⁷ Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 286–87.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 287.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Appendices, D, E, F; also Thesis, p. 52.

²⁰⁰ Letters Patent, 1565. C. C. R., xix., 465. The following are additional data concerning the appointment of usher in Ipswich: On Dec. 5, 1577, it was ordered “that Joseph, mr Dawes sonne, shall continue Usher of the Schoole until Annunc: next (Mar. 25), and that the Bayliffs and such as they shall call to them shall allow him to continue still in

by the governors, "the mayor and brethren," with the advice of the master,²⁰¹ and in Wakefield by the governors with the "help and assistance" of the master,²⁰² while similarly in Halifax the usher was to be elected by the governors, the city corporation, provided they took unto themselves the master "to judge of the sufficiency in learning and aptness in the function of the said Usher."²⁰³ In Hawkeshead the usher was to be chosen by the "Schole-master and the gounors of the said schole or the most pte of them;"²⁰⁴ in Oundle²⁰⁵ and Seven Oaks he was to be chosen by the master subject to the approval of the governors;²⁰⁶ in Hexham he was to be chosen by the master and "allowed" by the governors;²⁰⁷ in Sandwich he was to be appointed and elected by the master and admitted by the governors "not knowing sufficient cause to refuse him,"²⁰⁸ while in Kirkby Stephen,²⁰⁹ Redgraves,²¹⁰ Saint Bees,²¹¹ Berkhamsted,²¹² Thame²¹³ Tunbridge,²¹⁴ and Whitchurch,²¹⁵ the master was to have the power of appointment.²¹⁶

that office, or chose somme other meeter man."—*Annals of Ipswche*, 316. On April 14, Joseph Dawes resigned and it was ordered that the bayliffs and portmen, with the consent of Mr. Dawes, the schoolmaster, "shall elect another in his roome."—*Ibid.*, 323. In 1582 a newly selected usher was to be examined by a committee consisting of the rector, the school-master, and an ex-schoolmaster, by which he was to be "approved for his learning and religion."—*Ibid.*, 331.

²⁰¹ Decree of the Duchy Court of Lancaster, 1583, C. C. R., xxxii., pt. 2, 810.

²⁰² Letters Patent, 1592. Carlisle, ii., 911.

²⁰³ Letters Patent, 1585. Carlisle, ii., 809. C. C. R., xviii., 569.

²⁰⁴ Statutes. Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 473.

²⁰⁵ Statutes, Eliz. Carlisle, ii., 215.

²⁰⁶ Statutes, 1574. Carlisle, i., 621.

²⁰⁷ Statutes, 1600. C. C. R., xxiii., 478.

²⁰⁸ Statutes, 1580. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 223.

²⁰⁹ Statutes, 1566. Carlisle, ii., 718.

²¹⁰ Letters Patent, 1561, and Statutes, 1576. C. C. R., xxii., 150.

²¹¹ Statutes, 1583. Carlisle, i., 157.

²¹² Date, 1564. S. I. C., xii., 74.

²¹³ The appointment by the master was subject to the approval of the warden and two senior fellows of New College, Oxford. Statutes, 1574. S. I. C., xii., 266.

²¹⁴ Statutes, Eliz. Carlisle, i., 628.

²¹⁵ Statutes, 1550-1570. C. C. R., xxiv., 337; also power of dismissal.

²¹⁶ This presents another reason for the absence of definite qualifications of usher noted on page 56. In the large number of cases in which

Concerning the time within which appointments of ushers were to be made, the statutes and letters patent generally make no specifications. In Halifax, however, this time was fixed at one month,²¹⁷ while in Rivington within the same time the usher was to be nominated by the governors and presented to the Bishop of Durham or Chester for examination.²¹⁸

While the information concerning the formal admission of ushers is meagre, it is not uninteresting. The ceremony at East Retford and Wakefield²¹⁹ was the same for master and usher,²²⁰ while those of St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors' resemble very much the formalities accompanying the admission of the master as will be seen from the following quotations from the statutes of St. Paul's.²²¹

"This Surmaister the Hygh Maister shall chose as often as the rome shall be voyde, and when the Hygh Maister hath

the appointment was practically left to the master, it probably was not thought necessary to state the qualifications inasmuch as the master would be expected to choose such a man as was qualified to perform the duties peculiar to his school.

²¹⁷ Letters Patent, 1585. Carlisle, ii., 809. C. C. R., xviii., 569.

²¹⁸ Cf. Carlisle, i., 716.

²¹⁹ Cf. *supra*, p. 74.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*

²²¹ The following is the text of the corresponding sections of the Statutes of the Merchant Taylors' School:—

"And when The High Maister hath appointed him upon one, The High Maister shall call to the Schoole the Surveyors of the Schoole, and before them he shall say to the Ussher on this wise:

" 'Sir, before these my Maisters here, The Surveyors of the Schoole, I shew unto you that I have chosen you to be the Chief Ussher or Under Maister of this Schoole, and to teach allwaies, from tyme to tyme, as I shall appoint you, and supply my roome in my absence when it shall be graunted me by my Maisters, the said Maisters and Wardens, and also at all such tymes as I shall be sick of any curable disease.'

"Then the said Maister and Wardens shall exhort the Ussher dilligently to doe his duty, and shall say unto him on this wise:

" 'Your roome is no perpetuity, but, according to your labor and diligence, you shall contynue: otherwise, fownd not doing your duty accordingly, and reasonably warned of us, ye shall departe.

" 'Yf it shalbe so that at any tyme you will departe of your owne mynd, yee shall give us one yere's warning before your departure.' "

The next clause is quoted *verbatim*. The following clause deals with a similar provision concerning approval of the election and the assignment of lodgings. Cf. Carlisle, ii., 52.

appointed him upon one, he shall call to the Scole the Surveyors of this Scole, and before them he shall say to the Surmaister on this wise:—

“ ‘Sir, before these my Maisters here, the Surveyors of this Scole, I shew unto you that I have chosen you to be Under Maister of this Scole, and to teach always from tyme to tyme as I shall appoint you and supply my rome in my absence when it shall be granted me by my Maisters, the Mercers, Wardens, and Surveyors, and for such more labor in my absence I shall somewhat so to you as my Maisters here shall think best.’

“ ‘Thanne the Surveyors shall exorte the Surmaister diligently to do his dewtie and shall say to him on this wyse: ‘Your rome is no perpetuitie, but according to your labor and diligence ye shall continue, otherwise found not according and reasonable warned of us, ye shall departe. Yf it shall be so that at any tyme ye will departe of your owne mynde, ye shall give us half a year warning. If any controversy be betwixt you and the Hyghe Maister, ye shall stand at our direccion in every thinge.’

“ ‘Yf he will promise this, thenne let The Mercers approve the election of the Surmaister, and assigne him his lodgings in *The Old Chaunge*.’”²²²

The ceremonies accompanying the admission of the usher of the school at Thame also resembled those of the master in the same place. The Sunday after his election, in the presence of the Churchwardens and of at least four “*graviore incolar*” of the parish, the usher was to read in English, in the parish church, the statutes concerning the duty of the master and usher and to promise according to a set form of words to observe the rules of the school.²²³

The terms for which the master and the usher were elected varied greatly. In the cases of St. Paul’s and Merchant Taylors’ they were appointed for one year with the understanding that if they were giving satisfaction they would be continued in office.²²⁴ A similar provision with respect to the master seems to have existed in Burford.²²⁵ In Kirkby Stephen the following statute

²²² Cf. Carlisle, ii., 73.

²²³ Statutes, 1574. S. I. C., xii., 266. The usher gave bond for £or which was to be forwarded by the master to the warden of New College within one month after election of usher under penalty of ten “solide.”

²²⁴ *Supra*, p. 74.

²²⁵ William J. Monk, *History of Burford*, 133. Also S. I. C., xii., 217.

applied to the term of office of the usher: "And the same Usher shall continue no longer than the space of three years in his roome aforesaid, but some other shall be appointed thereto after the space of three years or before, if the Schoolmaster think it convenient;"²²⁰ while in Saint Bees the master, limited by no such time limit, was to place and displace the usher "as his deserts may require, and as shall seem convenient unto the said Schoolmaster."²²¹ While in the case of King's Lynn the master and usher were to be appointed during the goodwill and pleasure of the Corporation,²²² and in those of Newcastle and Reading they were to serve during the pleasure of the patrons,²²³ still in a large number of cases the length of the term of service depended upon the conduct and success of the master and usher themselves. Thus in Thame they were not to be so appointed that they could not be removed "upon just occasion."²²⁰ It has already been noted that in East Retford the master and usher were to have "perpetual continuance" of office "upon good demeanor and duty to be done within the grammar school."²³¹ In Ashborne and Oundle the master and usher were elected for life subject to removal in the former place for violating the statutes of the school²³² and in the latter for proven misconduct.²³³ In Gravesend the master was "to be the Scholemaster during so longe tyme as he shall behave himself honestly, and well and dylie performe the offyce of a Schoolemaster in teaching his Scollers manners and hollsome learning according to the lawes of the Realme,"²³⁴ while in Wakefield the master was "to continue so long as he shall be found by the governors

²²⁰ Statutes, 1566. Carlisle, ii., 718. For qualifications of usher here *cf. Supra*, 56.

²²¹ Statutes, 1583. Carlisle, i., 157. For qualifications of usher here *cf. Supra*, 56.

²²² Corporation Records, 1594. C. C. R., xxviii., 25.

²²³ Patrons of Newcastle school, the Mayor and Six Aldermen. Brand, *Newcastle upon Tyne*, 89. Patrons of Reading school, the Mayor and "Capital burgesses." Coates, *History of Reading*, 65.

²³⁰ Indenture, 1574. Carlisle, ii., 314.

²³¹ *Supra*, p. 74.

²³² Letters Patent, 1585. Carlisle, i., 209.

²³³ Statutes, 1556. Carlisle, ii., 215.

²³⁴ Notice given by the Portreve, Juratts, and Inhabitants of the towns and parishes of Gravesend and Milton in 1595. Quoted in full by Robert Pierce Cruden in his *History of the Towne of Gravesend*, 226.

to be diligent and faithful in his office, fit for the same both for his Religion and Conversation, and no longer. '285

To sum up briefly: the master and usher were appointed for a specified time,²⁸⁶ for a time not specified but subject to the pleasure of either the governors or the patrons of the school, and for life subject to removal for failure to give satisfaction. Some of the grounds for removal have been considered in this section; others together with the regulations with respect to dismissal will be considered in the following section on "The Removal of Master and Usher."

REMOVAL OF MASTER AND USHER.

It has been noted in the preceding section that the chief grounds for removal of either master or usher were inefficiency or negligence of duties²⁸⁷ and misconduct in office.²⁸⁸ What was implied by misconduct in office can be gathered from the following regulations concerning conduct in office: in Kirkby Stephen the master was not to be given to "unlawful pastimes or drunkenness, or else be noted openly to have an evil name or other detestable vice or deed which shall require or need

²⁸⁵ Letters Patent, 1592. Carlisle, ii., 910.

²⁸⁶ In Rugby there appears to have been a period of probation. In 1581 Nicholas Greenhill was appointed master upon condition that "After three yeares tryall of the said Nicholas Greenhill in that place that hee the said Nicholas should be and continewe there duringe his liefe yf there should be noe just cause given by the said Nicholas Greenhill to the contrarie." (The said Nicholas held office until 1604.) Extracted from Inquisition of 1602, Chancery Petty Bag; Charitable Uses, Bk. 1., No. 28, quoted in full by Rouse, *History of Rugby*, Appendix, II., B.

²⁸⁷ Usher of school at Ipswich discharged by Corporation in 1594 for "neglecting his place." Bacon's *Annals*, 377.

²⁸⁸ The following is a graphic account of the rather forcible expulsion of the master of the Rugby school in 1581. It is quoted in Rouse's *History of Rugby*, Appendix II., D. from the articles objected before the Lordes and the reste of Her Majesties moste honorable Privy Counsell againste Edwarde Boughton, of Cawston, in the Countie of Warrwick, Esq. (Rec. Office, State Papers, Domestic, Eliz., Vol. 146, No. 65). "Item, He him selfe with divers others in his companie, riotouslye and contrary to justice, hathe made a forcible entrie into the scoole of Rugby, in the Countie of Warrwick, and from thence hathe removed with stronge hande and displaced one Richard Seele, being quietlie possessed of the same for the space of eightene monethes before." For other details see Rouse, p. 38, and Appendix II., B.

ecclesiastical restraint or correction;”²³⁹ in Felsted the master and usher were not to be “drunkards, whorehunters, or lewd in living;”²⁴⁰ in Oundle neither master nor usher was to be “a common gamester, haunter of taverns, neither to exceed in apparel nor in other ways to be an infamy to the school or give evil example to the scholars,” but each was to be “in all points” such as “to show himself an example of honest, continent, and Godly behaviour;”²⁴¹ while in Witton the master was not to be “dissolute in manners,” “a drunkard,” “a whoremonger,” or “entangled with any other occupation repugnant to his vocation,” nor was he to be “a dicer or a common gamester.”²⁴²

Another ground for discharge was prolonged absence from school. Thus in Saint Bees the master was to forfeit his office for being absent fourteen days together, or one month at several times, above the twenty days allowed him by the statutes of the school;²⁴³ in Felsted the same penalty was inflicted for absence of eighty days in one quarter of the year;²⁴⁴ while in Crediton and St. Mary of Ottery the master was to be removed for absence of one month.²⁴⁵

There seems to be a disposition to give the master and usher a fair trial. In the first place there is an effort to make sure of the guilt of the accused before passing sentence upon him. In Louth the complaint was to be made to the Bishop of Lincoln who was to “interpose his censure,” and, if the offense demanded it, was to deprive the master or usher of office;²⁴⁶ similarly in Kirkby Stephen, “vices and offenses” charged against the master were to be “redressed by the Bishop or ordinary of the Diocese of Carlisle according to ecclesiastical order or common law,” and if found guilty the master was then to be “expelled out of

²³⁹ Statutes, 1566. Carlisle, ii., 717.

²⁴⁰ Deed, 1564. C. C. R., xxix., pt. 1, 206.

²⁴¹ Statutes, Eliz. Carlisle, ii., 215. The rule in Sandwich was almost identical. Cf. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 225.

²⁴² Statutes, 1558. Carlisle, i., 130. Cf. Camden’s words concerning Roger Ascham, “but being too much addicted to Dicing and Cock-matches, he lived and died a poor man.”—Camden, *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, Anno. 11.

²⁴³ Statutes, 1583. Carlisle, i., 156.

²⁴⁴ Deed, 1564. C. C. R., xxix., pt. 1, 206.

²⁴⁵ Cf. Carlisle, i., 258, 325.

²⁴⁶ Letters Patent, 1552. Carlisle, i., 825.

office;'²⁴⁷ while in Felsted the master and usher were to be proved of misconduct before the Bishop of London.²⁴⁸ In Witton a master accused of misconduct was to be tried by some of the inhabitants of Witton, and if found guilty he was to be discharged.²⁴⁹ In Hawkeshead there was to be an examination by the governors of the school.²⁵⁰ In Sandwich it was necessary for the master to be "sufficiently convicted,"²⁵¹ while in Seven Oaks the master was not to be dismissed "without urgent cause proved and allowed by the majority of governors."²⁵² In Alford the governors were not to put away any schoolmaster until he had been condemned by two magistrates one of whom he was to be allowed to choose.²⁵³

In the second place, there are not a few cases in which it was prescribed that attempts were to be made to help the master reform. In cases of misdemeanor in Hawkeshead, the master was to have three warnings from the governors to leave and "amende the said faulte and offence;" these warnings, or "monycons," were to be made "openlie before the Stipendiarie Mynister of Hawkeshead Church and some other honeste psons of the pyshe;" between the warnings a month, and no more, was to elapse; if the master "mended his ways," he was to "Concynewe his place and office of Scholemastership."²⁵⁴ In Sandwich the offending master or usher was to be twice "gently warned and admonished" by the Founder, and after his death by the governors of the school; if, after having been twice "solemplie admonished by the governors, or the greater parte of them," he did not amend and "diligentlie followe his office and charge of the school," he was to be "utterlie expulsed and amoved," and another was to be "received in his rome".²⁵⁵ In East Retford there were to be "three several monitions" by at least six of the Bailiffs and Burgesses at

²⁴⁷ Statutes, 1566. Carlisle, ii., 717.

²⁴⁸ Deed, 1564. C. C. R., xxix., pt. 1., 206.

²⁴⁹ Statutes, 1558. Carlisle, i., 130.

²⁵⁰ Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 479.

²⁵¹ Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 225.

²⁵² Statutes, 1574. Carlisle, i., 621.

²⁵³ Bequest (1588) to be forfeited to heirs at law of the donor in case of failure to comply with the provision.—Carlisle, i., 781.

²⁵⁴ Statutes. Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 479.

²⁵⁵ Statutes. Boys *History of Sandwich*, 225, 232.

intervals of fifteen days,²⁵⁵ while in Kirkby Stephen the master was to have two warnings within twenty days, and if he did not reform, he was to be displaced.²⁵⁷

Whether or not the master and usher received warning probably depended upon the character of the offense. Thus, in Hawkeshead the master was to be discharged immediately for "goinge aboute, atteptinge, pcuringe, will assentinge, or agreeinge to doe or comytt anie hersie, treason, murder, or fellonie;" he was to be discharged for being "a common drunkard," "remysse or necligent in teachinge the said schollers," for "havige or usinge anie ill or notable vice, cryme, offence, or condition," or for having "anie suche grevous dysease or infirmitie rendering him unable or unmeet to teach."²⁵⁸ In Dedham the master "on just occasion" was to receive a quarter's warning, but was to be discharged immediately without warning for any very "heinous or notorious offense."²⁵⁹ In Wakefield the master and usher were to receive a "quarter's notice,"²⁶⁰ while in Eye,²⁶¹ Seven Oaks,²⁶² and Witton²⁶³ the time was extended to six months. In Southampton the schoolmaster chosen in 1583 was employed with the understanding that he might be dismissed at a year's notice if the mayor and brethren should see fit; in March of 1593 the schoolmaster was called before the mayor and warned to "provide otherwise for himself by the middle of summer next";²⁶⁴ in 1601 the time of warning was reduced to six months.²⁶⁵

While provision was thus made for the welfare of the master, that of the school was not neglected, for in many places the

²⁵⁵ Statutes, 1552. Carlisle, ii., 285.

²⁵⁷ Statutes, 1566. Carlisle, ii., 716. Here the master was to be removed for being absent for more than twenty-four days, for lodging without his chamber in the night "being within the parish," and for being negligent and slack in doing his duty.—*Ibid.*, 716.

²⁵⁸ Statutes. H. S. Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 479.

²⁵⁹ Statutes, 1579. C. C. R., xxvii., 217.

²⁶⁰ Letters Patent, 1592. Carlisle, ii., 910, 911.

²⁶¹ Constitutions of the Borough of Eye, 1566. C. C. R., xxii., 140.

²⁶² Statutes, 1574. Carlisle, i., 621.

²⁶³ Statutes, 1558. Carlisle, i., 130.

²⁶⁴ Two other cases of dismissal: Yarmouth, 1584, master dismissed (Henry Manship, *The History of Great Yarmouth*, ii., 368). Barnstaple, 1597, master "put out" (Gribble, *Memorials of Barnstaple*, 521).

²⁶⁵ Davies, *A History of Southampton*, 312.

master was to give similar warning when he intended to leave. Thus in Southampton he was not "to quit under a year's notice."²⁶⁶ In Seven Oaks, whenever the master was not minded to "continue in the same school," he was to give six month's warning to the governors.²⁶⁷ In Dedham the master gave a bond of £20 not to leave without the consent of the governors or without giving the required three months' warning.²⁶⁸ In Witton the master was to give "open warning" in the Church on some Sunday or Festival day six months before his departure; did he fail to do this, he was to forfeit 40s. of his salary to the feoffees who were to give this amount to forty poor people of the parish.²⁶⁹ In East Retford the master was to give notice of his intention to leave "openly in the said parish church" at least six months before his departure, and in the time immediately following this announcement he was to do "his duty diligently in his office or else to lose so much of his salary as he ought to have for the said six months."²⁷⁰

STIPENDS PAID TO MASTER AND USHER.

As it has already been noted that the stipends of the master and usher were generally paid by the governors²⁷¹ of the school from the rents and revenues of the land and possessions held in trust by them,²⁷² from tythes appropriated to the use of the school,²⁷³ from royal revenues vested upon the school by the Crown,²⁷⁴ or from the common stock of the town corporation,²⁷⁵ only a few somewhat peculiar cases need be cited before proceeding to a discussion of method of payment of stipends. The first of these cases is that of Aylesham where the master was to be paid by the corporation of Norwich,²⁷⁶ which together with

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 312.

²⁶⁷ Statutes, 1574. Carlisle, i., 621.

²⁶⁸ Statutes, 1579. C. C. R., xxvii., 217.

²⁶⁹ Statutes, 1558. Carlisle, i., 130.

²⁷⁰ Statutes, 1552. Carlisle, ii., 284.

²⁷¹ *Cf. supra*, pp. 31, 32 and 35.

²⁷² *Cf.* Appendix C.

²⁷³ *Cf.* Appendix L.

²⁷⁴ *Cf. supra*, p. 11, and Appendix B.

²⁷⁵ *Cf.* Appendix L., "Kings Lynn."

²⁷⁶ Deed, 1554. S. I. C., xiii., 347. This school was founded and endowed by Mayor of Norwich.—S. I. C., xiii., 347.

the Cathedral Corporation of Norwich supported a grammar school in its own city.²⁷⁷ A somewhat similar arrangement between the town and cathedral corporations existed at Lincoln except, as has been noted before, the cathedral corporation participated in the government of the school.²⁷⁸ As a rule, however, the cathedrals maintained grammar schools at the expense of the cathedral corporation. Quite different from these cases is that of Knutsford where the schoolmaster was to be paid by the heirs or assigns of Sir John Leigh who had been granted certain lands by Edward VI. upon condition that he, his heirs and their assigns would find and support a schoolmaster in Knutsford,²⁷⁹ while in Bowdon a similar condition was attached by Edward Janny to his lands when he devised them to his "kynsmen" in 1553.²⁸⁰

There seem to have been three methods of paying the stipends of the master and usher. In the cases where the stipends were paid by the Crown the customary method seems to have been that of annual payment²⁸¹ while in the other cases the payment seems to have been made either semi-annually or quarterly, upon certain feast days. Thus, in Hawkeshead²⁸² and Coventry²⁸³ the master was to be paid "in two even portions at the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and at the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel; in East Retford the days were the last day of May and November,²⁸⁴ and in Kirkby Stephen at the Feasts of Pentecost and St. Martin,²⁸⁵ in St. Albans²⁸⁶

²⁷⁷ Cf. Appendix L., "Norwich."

²⁷⁸ Cf. *supra*, p 37, and Appendix L., "Lincoln."

²⁷⁹ Deed, 1549. S. I. C., xvii., 46. There is also record of a special tax being laid in the city of Liverpool to pay stipends of minister and of grammar school master. Date, 1601. Sir James Picton, "City of Liverpool," p. 101. In Daventry the salaries of master and usher were paid by heirs of founder.—Deed, 1576. C. C. R., xiii., 10.

²⁸⁰ Ingham, *Bowdon*, 115.

²⁸¹ Tamworth, L. P., 1588. Carlisle, ii., 496. At Salisbury, however, the salaries were paid semi annually as in Hawkeshead, L. P., 1569. C. C. R., xxvi., 66.

²⁸² *Hawkeshead*, by H. S. Cowper, p. 482.

²⁸³ Benjamin Poole, *Coventry*, 245.

²⁸⁴ Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 286.

²⁸⁵ Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 719.

²⁸⁶ Statutes. Carlisle, i., 515.

as well as in St Bees²⁸⁷ the master was to be paid "at the Feasts of St. Michael the Archangel, the Nativity of Our Lord Christ, the Annunciation of Our Lady, and Midsummer," while in Hartlebury²⁸⁸ payment was made upon the same feast days, the last being called "the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist."²⁸⁹

Thus far attention has been called to the sources from which the stipends were raised, to the channels through which they were paid, and to the dates of payment; there remain to be considered the amounts of the stipends and their various supplements. Much of the data concerning the former of these topics is contained in Appendix L and is summarized in the following tables:

TABLE NO. I.*

Annual Stipends of Masters. 1558-1603.

£ per Annum.	No. of Cases.	£ per Annum.	No. of Cases.
3	1	16	3
4	1	19	1
7	2	20	25
8	1	24	3
9	1	26	3
10	12	30	1
12	1	33	1
13	18	40	1
15	3	50	1

While the 79 cases contained in the above table are not sufficient to warrant making any sweeping conclusions, the table is nevertheless suggestive and worthy of study. The most common salaries appear to be in order, £10, £13 (to be more exact £13 6s. 8d. or 20 marks), and £20. The average of the 79 cases is a

²⁸⁷ Statutes. Carlisle, i., 156.

²⁸⁸ Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 759.

²⁸⁹ The four feast days mentioned in this paragraph are probably those meant by "the four usual feast days" upon which the master was to be paid in Rochdale.—Deed, 1565. C. C. R., xix., 267.

* Cf. Appendix L. In order to make the amounts more easy to handle the pence and shillings were dropped in cases where their sum made less than half-pound, and in cases where their sum made more than a half-pound the pound was added.

trifle over £16½ which compares favorably with the average pay of the Schoolmaster before the Reformation which is given by Leach as £6 9s. 6d.;²⁹⁰ but as such a comparison gives undue weight to the rather exceptional cases at 40 and 50, a more just basis of comparison would be between the medians. This in the cases under study is £15, and while Leach does not give the median of the cases studied by him, still the comparison of the median of the one with the average of the other reveals the fact that there was a decided increase in the stipends paid the schoolmasters after the Reformation, a fact that is seen very clearly when one notes that while before the Reformation £12 was the annual stipend of the headmasters of "the larger grammar schools,"²⁹¹ almost 76% of the masters included in our 79 cases received more than that amount. Indeed, the median of all our cases does not compare so very unfavorably with that of cases of the salaries of the headmasters of the 10 Cathedral Grammar Schools established by Henry VIII.,²⁹² both being £15. It is also interesting to note that if one canon had been taken from each of the ten Cathedral Churches established by Henry VIII.,²⁹³ the average of their stipends would have been but £23, while the average of the stipends of the highest ten masters would have been £30. Not less interesting is it to note that in Plymouth (and in 24 other instances)²⁹⁴ the master of the Grammar School received £20, the same amount that the Mayor of the Corporation received as his yearly fee.²⁹⁵ But probably one of the best ways of getting the situation clearly before our minds is to note that 80% of the masters under consideration received stipends varying from ten to twenty pounds, stipends which in America at the present time would be equivalent to from \$500 to \$1,000.²⁹⁶

²⁹⁰ Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, p. 93.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*

²⁹² Cf. Appendix U.

²⁹³ Cf. Appendix U.

²⁹⁴ Cf. Appendix L.

²⁹⁵ R. N. Worth, *History of Plymouth*, 271.

²⁹⁶ It is evident that a pound in the 16th century is here treated as being equivalent to \$50 in the United States at the present time. While this is somewhat more liberal than the reckoning of either Staunton, who in his work on the Great Public Schools of England, p. 404, treats £500 (1561) as being equivalent to about £3,000 (1865), or Rouse, who

From what has just been said it appears that after the Reformation there was a decided increase in the stipends paid the Grammar Schoolmaster who in a large number of instances received a stipend equal to those received by leading civic and clerical officials, and who in every case was much more fortunate than the usher who served under him, as the following table makes evident.

TABLE NO. 2.²⁹⁷

The Stipend of the Usher in Terms of the Number of Pounds by which his Stipend is surpassed by that of his Headmaster.

£	No. of Cases.	£	No. of Cases.	£	No. of Cases.
7	3	11	4	17	1
8	2	12	1	27	1
9	2	13	3	30	1
10	10	15	1	37	1

Taking the median to represent the tendency we discover that in the 30 cases in which the salary of both master and usher is given the median of difference lies between ten and eleven pounds; or looking at the matter more from the point of view of the group we discover that in 73% of the cases in which data are given the stipend of the usher is from eight to thirteen pounds less than that of his headmaster. The actual distribution of the stipend of the usher is given in the table below.

TABLE NO. 3.²⁹⁷

Annual Stipends of Ushers. 1558-1603.

£	No. of Cases.	£	No. of Cases.	£	No. of Cases.
1	1	6	1	11	1
2	0	7	4	12	2
3	1	8	2	13	3
4	2	9	0	14	1
5	3	10	10		

in his *History of Rugby*, multiplies by ten to get the equivalent of the value of an amount in 1574, yet it is quite the opposite when compared with methods used by Whiston (*Cathedral Trusts*, p. 12), who multiplies by a trifle over 16, and by Leach, who frankly and without apology multiplies by 20 (*English Schools at the Reformation*, p. 93).

²⁹⁷ Tables "2" and "3" are constructed from data given in Appendix L. The same remarks apply to these tables that were made concerning

Just as in the distribution of the stipends of the masters there were three distinct modes increasing in amount, so here the most common stipends appear to have been £5, £7 (really £6 13s. 4d. or 20 nobles), and £10. While the average, which in this instance is nearly £9, is £6 less than the median of the stipends of the master, it is over £2 greater than the average pay of the Schoolmaster before the Reformation. We can safely say that the majority of the ushers concerning which we have data were much better paid than either the master of many a small grammar school before the Reformation whose salary barely reached £5, or the ordinary Chantry priest whose salary was generally under £5²⁹⁸ since fully 83% of the ushers received that amount or more.²⁹⁹ Fully 63% of these ushers received stipends varying from £5 to £10, amounts in our time equivalent to from \$250 to \$500.³⁰⁰

In the consideration of the subject of the remuneration of master and usher it should be noted that in not a few cases the master and usher were not burdened with the payment of house-rent,³⁰¹ since their dwellings were furnished them free of expense by the school authorities. Sometimes the "dwelling" consisted of but one room. Thus in West Lavington the master was to have one of the eight rooms of the school-house,³⁰² and in Drayton

table No. 1. The case of Hexham (*cf.* Appendix L) accounts for the fact that there are 31 cases given in table No. 3 and only 30 in No. 2.

²⁹⁸ Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, p. 93. The salary of the master at Knutsford, £5 6s. 8d., resembled the salaries paid before the Reformation not only in size but also in method and source. *Cf.* Appendix L, and p. 84.

²⁹⁹ For the purpose of further comparison it might be well to note that the median or average of the cases under study is the same as that of the salaries prescribed for the ushers in the Cathedral Grammar Schools established by Henry VIII. *Cf.* Appendix U.

³⁰⁰ While the data of Appendix L cannot be used to give the average annual amount expended for instruction in the 76 schools which furnish the "cases" of our tables—Shrewsbury furnishing three of the "cases" of table No. 1.—yet these data indicate that in some years of this reign the expenditures for instruction must have reached £1,496 11s. 10d. This compares very favorably with the £1,677 5s. 0½d. given by Leach, *loc. cit.*, as the income of the 259 schools before the Reformation.

³⁰¹ There were cases, however, in which no house was provided for the master, as for example, in Boston, where no residence for the master was provided until 1837.—Pishey Thompson, *History of Boston*, 284.

³⁰² *Circum*, 1598. C. C. R., v., 288.

the usher was to have a room in the school-house.³⁰³ In some cases there is evidence that the staff had lodgings in the school-house or that the master's house was used as a school-house. Thus in Drayton³⁰⁴ and in Barton under Needwood³⁰⁵ the master and usher had lodgings in the school-house; while in Tamworth the dwelling of the master was to serve also for the school.³⁰⁶ In Tiverton the master was to have a house, while the usher was to content himself with one of its rooms.³⁰⁷ In some cases, however, the use of the school-house as a residence for the family of the master was definitely forbidden, as in Thame.³⁰⁸ These houses were obtained in various ways, In some instances they were gifts. Thus in Burton Latimer the master's house was a gift of Wm. Vaux Lord Harrowden and George, his son,³⁰⁹ while in Northampton the master lived in the Vicarage House granted by Cardinal Pole to the Corporation as a residence for the master.³¹⁰ In other cases they were built at the expense of the Corporation as in Leicester³¹¹ and in Huntingdon.³¹²

More pretentious than those just quoted are the following provisions: In Bunbury the master was to have house, orchard, garden and croft, the usher, a cottage and land seven by four rods,³¹³ the value of the former being £3 per annum, of the latter, £1 10s.;³¹⁴ in Rugby the master was to have "the said manyson house with appurten'ce;"³¹⁵ in Hartlebury he was to "have to his proper use the Mansion-House at the East end of

³⁰³ Deed, 2 and 3 Philip and Mary. C. C. R., xxiv., 301.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 301.

³⁰⁵ Deed, 1593. C. C. R., vii., 303.

³⁰⁶ Letters Patent, 1588. C. C. R., xii., 543.

³⁰⁷ Will of Founder, 1599. Carlisle, i., 340.

³⁰⁸ "We desire that the master and under-master shall both be forbidden to keep their wives or any part of their family within the walls, rooms, attics or apartments of the master, for they have been built for the purpose of teaching and learning and ought to be kept in a state of complete quiet and silence so that no improper disturbances may arise in any way to interfere with the studies of the school."—Statutes, 1559. Lee, *The Church under Elizabeth*, ii., 113.

³⁰⁹ Deed, 1590. C. C. R., xxiii., 324.

³¹⁰ Carlisle, ii., 210.

³¹¹ James Thompson, *The History of Leicester*, 259.

³¹² Records of Corporation, 1561. C. C. R., xxiv., 17.

³¹³ Statutes, *circum* 1594. C. C. R., x., 194.

³¹⁴ Deed, 1593. G. N. C., 219.

³¹⁵ Will of Founder, 1567. Staunton, *The Great Public Schools*, 352.

the Church of Hartlebury, with the Garden or Orchard and Close adjoining, with the appurtenances, over and above his said salary;’’³¹⁶ in Kirkby Stephen he was to have the use of the Parsonage House and Garth;’’³¹⁷ in Sutton Valence, the use of a “good house and garden;’’³¹⁸ and in Coventry the master was to have the use of a house called the Mansion House³¹⁹ and of the close behind it, while the usher also had a house and garden.³²⁰

While in some places the expenses for repairs were to be borne by the master as was the case in Stevenage where he was to hold the house upon condition that he keep it in good repair,³²¹ in other places, as in Aldenham, the house was repaired at the expense of the school.³²²

While the master and usher were to have the use of the property of the school while in office, they were not to destroy any of it nor to take it with them when they left. In Oundle³²³ and Sandwich it was not to be “lawful for the master or usher or any of their friends, at the going awaie from their office, to spoil or take awaie with them any such thing as ys or shall be set up and fastened in their howse or howses or planted in their orchards or gardens or as stock or store in the school howse,” but they were to “leave it with as good will as for their time they had enjoyed the use thereof:” an inventory of “all things that apertaine unto the schoole, be they books or bedinge or other ymplementes, in the master’s or usher’s howse or in the schoole” was to be placed in the hands of the governors so that at the departure “they may be staied and reserved as apertaineth in that behaulf.”³²⁴ Similarly at Saint Bees the master was to receive “the Implements and Bedding” by inventory from the Governors and was also to “enter into sufficient Bond at his first Entrance to make good the same from time to time”.³²⁵

³¹⁶ Statutes, 1565. Carlisle, ii., 759.

³¹⁷ Statutes, 1566. Carlisle, ii., 719.

³¹⁸ Date, 1578. Carlisle, i., 624.

³¹⁹ Benjamin Poole, *Coventry*, 245.

³²⁰ *Ibid*, 249, 245.

³²¹ Carlisle, i., 516.

³²² Statutes, 1595. S. I. C., xii., 66.

³²³ Statutes, Eliz. Carlisle, ii., 218.

³²⁴ Statutes. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 230.

³²⁵ Statutes, 1583. Carlisle, i., 157.

The sources from which the salary of the master and usher might be augmented varied. In some places the staff received the surplus after the necessary expenses had been met. Thus in Sandwich the surplus after the charges for repairs, etc. had been deducted from the income and rents from the estates of the school was to be divided equally between the master and usher,³²⁶ while in Coventry the stipends of the master and usher were to be augmented by the surplus left after the necessary expenses had been deducted from the £9 12s. 6d. appropriated for repairs.³²⁷ The arrangement at Moulton was to be similar to those just described, the difference being that the master's stipend alone was thus augmented.³²⁸ In other places there were extra amounts paid by the governors of the school. Thus in 1561 the master of the school at Southampton received besides his regular salary, £3 6s. 8d. for his board,³²⁹ while in Saint Bees the master upon his first arrival at the school was to "receive towards his charges in his journey so much of the said yearly stipend as shall be grown due since the avoidance of the last schoolmaster before him."³³⁰ In some places the master and usher were permitted to take boarders. In Sandwich the master and usher were permitted to "boerde, dyet or lodge in their howses or romes or otherwies," the master no more than twelve scholars, and the usher no more than six, except by consent of the governors,³³¹ while in Oundle the provision was the same with the exception of the numbers which were six and three respectively.³³² Lectureships were also open to some of the masters.³³³ Thus in Newbury the schoolmaster was in 1559 the lecturer of the parish church,³³⁴ while in Southampton the

³²⁶ Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 223.

³²⁷ Deed, 1573. Carlisle, ii, 647.

³²⁸ Decision of a Commission in 1599. Carlisle, i., 838.

³²⁹ Davies, *History of Southampton*, 312.

³³⁰ Statutes, 1583. Carlisle, i., 156.

³³¹ Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 225.

³³² Statutes, 1556. Carlisle, ii., 215. The limitations in these two cases were placed upon the masters and ushers in favor of the inhabitants of Sandwich and Oundle, who made considerable money boarding and rooming "out of town" students. Cf. *infra* 146, footnote 112.

³³³ In Cheltenham, however, neither master nor usher was to preach more than six times in a year without special license of patrons. (Deed, 1586. S. I. C., xv., 33).

³³⁴ Walter Money, *The History of Newbury*, 213.

master in 1569 besides his salary received £6 13s. 4d. for reading a divinity lecture once a week.³³⁶ But probably most common as well as important sources of augmentation of the salaries of master and usher were the various fees which fell due to them.

Without doubt the most common of the fees thus granted to the staff were the admission or entrance fees, which varied in value from one to twelve pence.³³⁷ The grounds for the payment of these fees are variously stated. Thus in St. Paul's the child was to pay at his admission "4d. for wrytinge of his name,"³³⁷ while in the Merchant Taylors' the fee was 12d. "for writing in of his name"³³⁸ and in the school at Ringwood the same amount "for entering name in book."³³⁹ In Lowestoft the fee was for "the nomination and appointment" of the scholar.³⁴⁰ In several places there was a difference between the fees granted to master and to usher. A reduction from 12d. to 4d. was made for the "poorer sort" in Bunbury³⁴¹ and for children of inhabitants of the town in Burford,³⁴² while in Shrewsbury there existed a system of entrance fees graduated according to the rank and place of birth of pupils.³⁴³

While it is probable that the entrance fees generally went to augment the stipends of the staff, yet there are instances in which those fees were appropriated for specific purposes. Thus in St. Paul's "this money of the admissions" was to be given to "the poor Scoler that swepeth the Scole and kepeth the seats cleane,"³⁴⁴ while in the Merchant Taylors' it was to be "given to such one, as shalbe appointed by the said High Maister and the Surveyors to sweepe the Schoole, and keepe the Court of the Schoole cleane, and see the Streete nigh to the Schoole Gate clenched of all manner of ordure, caryon, or other fylthy or uncleane things, out of good order, or extraordynarily there thrown."³⁴⁵ Similarly the entrance fee of one pence and the

³³⁶ Davies, *A History of Southampton*, 311.

³³⁷ Cf. Appendix L.

³³⁷ Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 75.

³³⁸ Statutes, 1561. Carlisle, ii., 54.

³³⁹ Will of Founder, 1586. C. C. R., xiv., 530.

³⁴⁰ Deed, 1571. S. I. C., xiii., 216.

³⁴¹ Statutes, *circum* 1594. S. I. C., xvii., 23.

³⁴² Statutes, 1571. Monk, *History of Burford*, 134.

³⁴³ Cf. Appendix L.

³⁴⁴ Statutes, 1512. Carlisle, ii., 75.

³⁴⁵ Statutes, 1561. Carlisle, ii., 54.

quarterly fee of one pence per scholar was to be devoted by the usher of the school at Seven Oaks to having "the school swept and made clean once every week."³⁴⁶ In Thame the admission fee of a drachma was to go "towards the literary use of the school."³⁴⁷

Although perhaps not so common, the tuition fees were very probably more important than those just discussed. In a few instances the amount of the fees is not given as is the case in our records of the school at Aylesbury which although called a Free School was supported at least in part by the tuition fees paid by the parents of the boys.³⁴⁸ As was the case with respect to the entrance fees, so here also there appears to have been a graduation of fees based upon several kinds of considerations. The fee paid to the master was higher than that received by the usher. Thus the difference between the two in Thame was that between a "solidus" and a "semi-solidus" per annum.³⁴⁹ The fee paid by the pupil coming from a distance was not infrequently higher than that of the one living in the parish or town in which the school was situated. Thus in Burford the former was to pay 6*d.* per quarter while the latter paid only 2*d.* per quarter;³⁵⁰ in Hexham the former class of pupils paid the master 12*d.* a quarter and the usher 6*d.* a quarter, while the latter class paid the small sum of 1*d.* a quarter and were required to pay no more unless their parents wished to do so;³⁵¹ while in the case of Heighington children from the parish were to receive instruction free with the exception of the entrance fee of 4*d.* and a small quarterly fee of 2*d.*, the poor children from outside of the parish were to pay 2*s.* per annum, while the sons of rich men and gentlemen were to be taken upon such charges as "the schoolmaster and they should agree upon."³⁵² Not quite so indefinite was

³⁴⁶ Statutes, 1574. Carlisle, i., 621.

³⁴⁷ Two denarii were also to be paid annually to the master for the purpose of sweeping the school.—Statutes, 1574. S. I. C., xii., 267.

³⁴⁸ Robert Gibbs, *A History of Aylesbury*, 476–77.

³⁴⁹ Statutes, 1574. S. I. C., xii., 267.

³⁵⁰ Monk, *History of Burford*, 134. Four scholars known as the Wisdom Scholars and elected by the founder and his heirs were compelled to pay only the admission fee of 4*d.*—Statutes, 1571. S. I. C., xii., 217.

³⁵¹ Paid on quarter days.—Statutes, 1600. C. C. R., xxiii., 479. This school was also known as a Free Grammar School.

³⁵² Articles annexed to Foundation Deed, 1601. S. I. C., xix., 42.

the corresponding provision in Abingdon where "the sons of any honest man, gentleman, or riche man," if there was still room, was "not to be refused, or charged more than 6s. 8d. a year."³⁵³ In the Merchant Taylors' 50 of the 250, "being poore men's Children," were to have paid for them by their parents or friends "two shillings and two-pence by the Quarter for a peece of them," while another 100, "being rich or meane men's Children," were to have paid by the parents or friends "Fyve Shillings by the Quarter for their instruction and learning."³⁵⁴ In Warwick the master was to receive 40s. annually from the profits of certain lands for teaching the "petties" and "poor men's children in the County of Warwick."³⁵⁵

While in St. Saviour the master was allowed to take a limited number of "paying pupils,"³⁵⁶ there are not a few cases, where tuition fees are definitely prohibited.³⁵⁷ The will of the founder of the school at Normanton provides that "the master should not command any allowance for teaching the free scholars beyond the yearly sum of £10" which was paid from the estates deeded to the school.³⁵⁸ The master of the school at Seven Oaks was to take nothing "of the said poor Children, their Parents or Friends for their teaching."³⁵⁹ The master at Hawkeshead was to teach "freelie wthout takinge anie stipende, wage, or other exacon of the schollers, or of anie of them resortinge to the said Schole to learn."³⁶⁰ The Founder of the school at Tiverton expresses himself very forcibly upon this

³⁵³ Deed, 1562. S. I. C., xi., 396. Ten scholars were to be admitted "of whom the master was to take his advantage". *Ibid.*

³⁵⁴ Statutes, 1561. Carlisle, ii., 51.

³⁵⁵ Deed, 1571. S. I. C., xv., 750.

³⁵⁶ Forty out of 100 on condition that he hire an usher. Letters Patent, 1562. S. I. C., i., Appendix 49.

³⁵⁷ Instruction was to be free in the following places: Bunbury (Statutes, circum 1594. S. I. C., xvii., 23), Burnley (Deed, 1577. S. I. C., xvii., 202), Cheveley (Letters Patent, 1568. S. I. C., xii., 483), and Manchester (Deeds, 1515-25, in effect in reign of Elizabeth. S. I. C., xvii., 324), and Kirkby Stephen (S. I. C., i., Appendix 50).

³⁵⁸ The school was therefore free to all scholars of the founder's name and kin and to 30 poor children of the parishes of Normanton and Warmfield, or, in default, from the neighborhood. The school was to be known as a Free Grammar School.—Will, 1594. S. I. C., xviii., 190.

³⁵⁹ Statutes, 1574. Carlisle, i., 619.

³⁶⁰ Statutes, 1588. Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 472.

subject in the following clauses of his will: "And my hope and desire and will is that they³⁶¹ should themselves satisfied and content with that recompense for their travell³⁶² *without seeking or exacting any more* either of Parent or Children, which *procureth favour to givers and the contrarie to such as do not or cannot give*, for my meaning is, yt shall be for ever a FREE SCHOLL and NOT A SCHOLE OF EXACTION."³⁶³ This is evidently aimed at a custom which was apparently not uncommon, viz. that of prohibiting the master from taking tuition fees but allowing him to receive voluntary gifts.³⁶⁴ Thus the master of the school at Guisbrough was to teach freely all scholars coming to the school, "*never after any thing of duty*," but if any of the parents or friends of the scholars gave him any thing "*of their free will*," he might "take it thankfully,"³⁶⁵ while in Croydon the following rule was to be in effect: "He (the master) shall freelye teach suche of the children of the parishe of Croydon, without exactinge any thinge for theire teachinge as are of the poorer sorte,—but yet it shalbe lawful for the saide schoolemaster to receave that which is voluntarily bestowde uppon him by any of the saide poorer sorte of parishioners, and for the children of suche as be of the better sorte of the parishioners of Croydon."³⁶⁶ "Gifts" were also permitted in Hartlebury where the following statute treats the subject: "Also, that the said School-master shall and may have, use and take the profits of all such *cock-fights* and *potations*, as are commonly used in the Schools, and such other gifts as shall be freely given him by any of the friends of his scholars over and besides his wages, until his salary and stipend shall be augmented."³⁶⁷ In the free School at Warrington,³⁶⁸ while tuition fees were forbidden and the master was not to take any "reward, stipend or schoolhire, yet it was to be lawful for him to take from his scholars 4d.

³⁶¹ I.e., the master and usher.

³⁶² For the value of their "recompense" see Appendix L.

³⁶³ Date, 1599. Carlisle, i., 340. Similar provision in Drayton. Deed, 2nd and 3d Philip and Mary. C. C. R., xxiv., 301.

³⁶⁴ Custom permitted in Ringwood.—Deed, 1586. C. C. R., xiv., 530.

³⁶⁵ Statutes, 1561. Carlisle, ii., 806; also S. I. C., xviii., 530.

³⁶⁶ Deed, 1599. S. I. C., xi., 160.

³⁶⁷ Statutes, 1565. Carlisle, ii., 759.

³⁶⁸ According to statutes made in 1526 but in force in reign of Elizabeth.—C. C. R., xx., 167.

annually, a cock-penny in the quarter after Christmas, and three potation-pennies in the other three quarters, for which he was to "make a drinking for all the said scholars in any of the said three quarters." In Witton the master was permitted to receive certain fees called "Veils," which consisted of the admission fee of 4*d.* and of 1*d.* from every scholar paid on the first Thursday after the Christmas recess.³⁶⁹

To sum up briefly before proceeding to the consideration of the topic of the duties and powers of the staff the stipends of the master and usher of this period were higher than those of the master and usher before the Reformation, that of the master being proportionally higher than that of the usher;³⁷⁰ in not a few cases the staff was not burdened with house rent; in some cases the salaries were augmented by the surplus revenues of the estates of the school, in others by profits from boarding students or by incomes from lectureships, and in others by entrance fees, tuition fees,³⁷¹ gifts, or fees such as the profits of cock-fights and potation pennies. There were also a few instances in which the salary of the master might be increased at the expense of that of the usher and *vice versa*. Thus in Kirkby Stephen the usher was to have charge of the school during the absence of the Master or in the intervals between the leaving and coming of masters, for which he was to receive two shillings extra per week,³⁷² while in Oundle during the absence of the one the other was to "supply his office" and was to receive such

³⁶⁸ Statutes, 1558. Carlisle, ii., 132.

³⁷⁰ There are instances in which the salaries themselves were augmented either by the efforts of the master or by increased donations. Cf. Appendix L. Not uninteresting in this connection is the following extract from the Mickletown Jury Roll, borough of Nottingham, for the year 1588 (*Records of the Borough of Nottingham*, 223): "We request your Woo(r)shippe, Maister Maior, with the rest of your brethren for as much as we see our Scoole to increase by mennes wherof much more dellygence is vsed than hath benne latye hertofore, and partlye by a carfulle Ousher well lerned and brought vp in teachinge: wee dooe alle most willingly request you that, wheras he hath in wadges for the whole year vj li xiijs. iiij*d.* that it may be mad viij li."

³⁷¹ In Bungay (Statutes, 1591. S. I. C., xiii., 135) the master, if he hired an usher at his own expense, could require every townsman having children in the school to pay 5*s.* a year for every such child.

³⁷² Statutes, 1566. Carlisle, ii., 718.

“good and convenient allowance as they can agree.”³⁷³ Every possible effort was made, however, to emphasize the importance of regular attendance which was considered as the basal duty of every master and usher and hence may well be considered as the first of the *Duties of Master and Usher*.

DUTIES OF MASTER AND USHER

A glance through the following regulations concerning absences will bring to light the fact that vacation days were not very plentiful. In Witton the master was to have liberty once in every thirty days to be absent “to recreate himself.”³⁷⁴ In East Retford he was not to “absent himself forth of the said town of East Retford from his school over a space of three days in any one quarter,” except by the special license of the governors.³⁷⁵ In Kirkby Stephen the master might be absent twelve days in the year, the extreme limit being twenty-four days.³⁷⁶ In Saint Bees he was not to “absent himself from the school above twenty days in the whole year” besides the twelve days in Christmas, Easter, and Whitson weeks, “without urgent cause and special license” to be obtained from the majority of the governors;³⁷⁷ but in such a case he was to “appoint some other meet man to supply his place,” and did he “tarry away longer than twenty days” he was to forfeit 12*d.* per day which was to be taken from his wages, and did he remain away for more than fourteen days together, or one month at several times in one year above the twenty days, he was to forfeit his position.³⁷⁸ Similarly in Ringwood the master was to be absent only for “needful and urgent causes” and not over twice in a year or for longer than twenty days at one time, when he was to furnish a substitute.³⁷⁹ Did the schoolmaster or usher of Alford wish to leave town concerning business, it was necessary for him to obtain the consent of the governors, and if he intended to be absent for more than two days, he was to appoint “some

³⁷³ Statutes, 1556. Carlisle, ii., 216.

³⁷⁴ Statutes, 1558. Carlisle, i., 131.

³⁷⁵ Statutes, 1552. Carlisle, ii., 285.

³⁷⁶ Statutes, 1566. Carlisle, ii., 716.

³⁷⁷ Provision at Merchant Taylors' very similar. For details *cf. supra*, chapter iii, footnote, 193.

³⁷⁸ Statutes, 1583. Carlisle, i., 157.

³⁷⁹ Deed, 1586. C. C. R., xiv., 530.

sufficient person in his place.''³⁸⁰ In Oundle³⁸¹ and Sandwich³⁸² neither master or usher was to be absent for more than twenty days in the year "nor so much but upon good and urgent cause;" nor were both to be absent at the same time, but one was to take the place of the other who was absent; license from the governors was necessary for an absence of over twenty days. In Seven Oaks it was necessary for the master to obtain the consent of the governors whenever he wished to absent himself, and even then he was not to be absent "above thirty days in the year,"'³⁸³ which he might take "*commutim* or *divisim*."³⁸⁴ In Hawkeshead neither master nor usher were to be absent except when necessary nor were they to be absent at the same time; for an absence of over six weeks the license of the governors was necessary.³⁸⁵ In Felsted neither master nor usher was to be absent above eight days in a quarter "without good excuse,"'³⁸⁶ while the arrangement in St. Albans was similar to that in effect at Seven Oaks with the exception that no more than six days were to be taken except in cases of sickness.³⁸⁷

In making special provision for the sickness of master or usher St. Albans was not alone. In Seven Oaks a master "sick of a curable disease" was nevertheless to have his wages "somewhat considering the usher for his pains."³⁸⁸ In East Retford, in case of "infirmity or other lawful impediment," the master was to furnish a substitute,³⁸⁹ while in Oundle³⁹⁰ and Sandwich, if the master were sick of a curable disease, he was to be "tolerated for the time and his stipend allowed fully, so that his office be furnished by his sufficient deputie;" but if he were sick of an infective or incurable disease, he was to be "putt awaie"

³⁸⁰ Statutes, 1599. Carlisle, i., 784.

³⁸¹ Statutes, Eliz. Carlisle, ii., 216.

³⁸² Statutes, 1580. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 226.

³⁸³ This was the time allowed the master and usher of St. Paul's who might take it "*conjunctim* or *divisim*."—Statutes, 1512. Carlisle, i., 72, 73. It was necessary for the usher, however, to obtain the permission of the master and governors of the school.

³⁸⁴ Statutes, 1574. Carlisle, i., 621.

³⁸⁵ Statutes, 1580. Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 475.

³⁸⁶ Statutes, 1564. Carlisle, i., 432.

³⁸⁷ Statutes, 1570. Carlisle, i., 516.

³⁸⁸ Statutes, 1574. Carlisle, i., 621.

³⁸⁹ Statutes, 1552. Carlisle, ii., 285.

³⁹⁰ Statutes, Eliz. Carlisle, ii., 216.

and another was to be chosen "in his rome."³⁰¹ At St. Paul's the matter is treated in the following statutes: "Yf the Maister be syke of sykeness incurable, or fall into such age that he may not conveniently teache, and hath bene a man that longe and laudably hath taught in the Scole, thanne let another be chosyn, and by the discrete charitie of the Mercery let there be assigned to the olde Maister a reasonable levinge of Ten Pounds or otherwise as it shall seme convenyent, so that the olde Maister after his longe labor, in no wise be lefte destitute. Yf the Maister be syke of sikenes curable, yet nevertheless I will that he shall have his wages, and in suche sekenes yf he may not teache, let him reward the Under-maister for his more labor somewhat according."³⁰²

"In sekenes curable, as aches, or suche sekenes, for a tyme he (the Under-maister) shal be tolerated and have his full wagis.

"Yf after his commynge he fall sick unto sickenes incurable, as Lepry, or Frenche Poxe, or, after his longe labor in the Scole fall into age ympotent, thenne I commit him to the charitie of The Mercers, they of the coler of the Scole, to provide him a lyvinge as it may be possible, praying them to be charitable in that behalf.

"Yf both maisters be sicke at onys, thenne let the Scole cease for that while."³⁰³

Not so liberal or comprehensive are the following statutes of the Merchant Taylors' which it will be noted omit references to incurable sicknesses, old age, and pensionery support: "Yf the maister be sick of a sicknes curable, yet neverthesse it is meete that the Chief Usher, for the tyme that the Maister is so sick, shall doe his best endeavor to direct all the Schoole, as the duty of the Maister was to have done. The said Usher to his power to doe his owne duty as he did before neverthesse."³⁰⁴

"In sickness curable, or axes (*agues*), or such sickness for a tyme he (the Chief Usher) shal be tolerated and have his full wages, although that, during the tyme of such curable sicknes, The High Maister, with that help of the Under-Usshers, shall

³⁰¹ Statutes, 1583. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 226.

³⁰² Statutes, 1512. Carlisle, ii., 72.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, 73.

³⁰⁴ Statutes, 1561. Carlisle, ii., 51.

to the uttermost of their powers, instruct and teach all the Schollers within the said Schoole with all dilligence, as the duty of the Ussher was to have done, The High Maister and The Under-Usshers to their power to doe their owne duty as they did before nevertheless.

“Yff both The Maister and The Usshers be sick at once, (as God defend), then let the Schoole cease for that while.”³⁹⁵

As to enforced vacations caused by the prevalence of contagious diseases,³⁹⁶ the statute of St. Paul's is, “Yf there be such sicknesse in the citie contagious that the Scole cannot continue, yet neverthesse both maisters shall have their wages, being always ready for to teache.”³⁹⁷ The wording of the corresponding section in the statutes of the Merchant Taylors' School is rather odd: “Yff there be such sickness contagious in the Cytty, that the Schoole cannot contynue,³⁹⁸ then both The Maister and The Usshers must have patience in such a case.”³⁹⁹ In Sandwich and Oundle⁴⁰⁰ it was provided that, if the school were compelled to be closed on account of contagious sickness, the master and usher were to receive their regular salary, “being in rediness to teache so sone as God shall make suche contagious sickness cease.”⁴⁰¹

An excellent statement of the chief duties, moral, intellectual and religious, of the master and usher is contained in the following section of the statutes of the school at Hartlebury: “Also that the said School-master and Usher, and either of them, shall instruct, teach, and bring up their Scholars as well in Virtue and Learning according as the capacity and wits of the said Scholars shall ask and require, as also shall instruct them in the true knowledge of God and his holy Word, as much as in them lieth, and further shall execute and do all such things as to the office of a good School-master and Usher shall appertain

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 52, 53.

³⁹⁶ The school in Southampton was closed in 1583 for some time on account of a “visitation of a plague.”—C. C. R., xiii., 167.

³⁹⁷ Statutes, 1512. Carlisle, ii., 74.

³⁹⁸ In 1603 the school was broken up for some months because of the prevalence of the plague.—Staunton, *The Great Public Schools of England*, 217.

³⁹⁹ Statutes, 1561. Carlisle. ii., 53.

⁴⁰⁰ Statutes, 1556. Carlisle, ii., 216.

⁴⁰¹ Statutes. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 226.

and belong, and according to such order as the said Lord Bishop⁴⁰² shall by writing in Articles prescribe unto them.”⁴⁰³

In the execution of the duties there was generally a division of labor between the master and usher. As a rule the master had general oversight of the whole school having also the supervision of the work of the usher,⁴⁰⁴ who customarily was given the lower forms or such forms as the master should designate to instruct⁴⁰⁵ and whose chief virtue was to be obedience to the master.⁴⁰⁶ In case of the absence of one the duties of both were to be performed by the other,⁴⁰⁷ and so when a vacancy occurred caused by death,⁴⁰⁸ dismissal, or leaving of either master or

⁴⁰² Edwin Lord Bishop of Worcester.

⁴⁰³ Statutes, 1565. Carlisle, ii., 759.

⁴⁰⁴ Thus the master in Saint Bees was to have general oversight of the usher (Statutes, 1583. Carlisle, i., 157). In Sandwich the master was to have supervision of the usher's work, and the usher was to "practice and use suche order and forme in teaching as the master should thinck good to prescribe," while at least twice a month the master was to examine the pupils under the care of the usher, "to understand how they profyt and go forward in learning" (Statutes. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 228). In Felsted the usher was to "teach the children in such manner and form as the master shall direct" (Statutes, 1564. Carlisle i., 432). Similarly in Oundle the usher was to "follow such order in teaching as the master shall prescribe" (Statutes, 1556. Carlisle, ii., 215). Cf. also the statutes of St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors' quoted *supra*, p. 78. For account of the supervision of the work of the master, cf. *supra*, p. 52ff.

⁴⁰⁵ Thus in Hawkeshead the usher was to "teach such Children and Schollers in the said Schole of the loweste fformes as to him shall be appointed by the said scholemaster" (Statutes. Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 480). In East Retford the usher was to teach "such Lower Formes and young Scholars as shall be to him appointed by the School-master" (Statutes, 1552. Carlisle ii., 281). Similarly in Ipswich (Bacon, *The Annals of Ipswiche*, 418), and Saint Bees (Carlisle, i., 157) the lower forms were assigned to the usher. For detailed account of duties, see Thesis, p. 109.

⁴⁰⁶ Thus in Hawkeshead the usher was to be "obedient" to the master (Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 480) while in East Retford he was to be obedient to the master "in all things honest and lawful concerning the said school" (Statutes, 1552. Carlisle, ii., 281).

⁴⁰⁷ Cf. *supra*, 99ff.

⁴⁰⁸ In Hawkeshead upon the death of the master, the usher was to "teach the Schollers in the said School as master therof, untill ther be a Scholemaster placed in the said Rowme and Offic," and for the time during which he acted as master he was to have "the stypende and allowaunce

usher, the other was to perform the duties of both until the vacancy was filled,⁴⁰⁹ while in some such cases the usher if qualified for the position of master was to be preferred.⁴¹⁰ In cases of disagreement between the master and usher the governors were usually to be arbitrators and their decision was to be final.⁴¹¹

Such were the relations between master and usher whose scholastic duties will be treated in greater detail in our study of English Grammar School Curricula.

belonging to the said scholemaster" (Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 473, 474). In Oundle (Statutes, Eliz. Carlisle, ii., 216) and Sandwich (Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 226) the executors or assignees were to be paid the money due the deceased up to the time of his death.

⁴⁰⁹ Cf. *supra*, 99ff. In Oundle and Sandwich (*loc. cit.*) the usher was to take the place of the master and was to receive the salary due both until the appointment and admission of a new master, but in Hawkeshead during the time that the usher acted as master he was to appoint a "scholler of the same schole to be usher under him," and the "scholler" thus substituting was to have the "Stypende and allowaunce belonging to the usher" (Statutes. Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 474).

⁴¹⁰ Provision of statutes of school at Seven Oaks (Carlisle, i., 621). "Yf the Under-Maister be in literature and in honest lyfe accordynge, then the Hygh Maisters rome vacante, let him be chosen before another" (Statutes, St. Paul's, 1512. Carlisle, ii., 72). "And yf the said Chief Ussher be in literature, discretion, and honest lief, according, then The High Maister his roome being vacant, lett him be chosen before another" (Statutes of the Merchant Taylors', 1561. Carlisle, ii., 51). In Ipswich in 1604 there is record of a James Leman being elected as master of the Grammar School (Bacon, *The Annals of Ipswche*, 418) while in 1594 there is record of a James Leman being "p'mitted to execute" the place of usher until another should be elected. (*Ibid*, 377). In Whitchurch the usher was to be preferred if thought sufficient.—Statutes, 1570. C. C. R., xxiv., 337.

⁴¹¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 73. In Sandwich the matter was to be referred to the founder during his life and after his death to the governors of the school. Failure to abide by the decision of either of them was to be punished by forfeiture of office (Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 225). The same provision existed in Oundle (Carlisle, ii., 216).

CHAPTER IV

ENGLISH GRAMMAR SCHOOL CURRICULA

While the academic entrance requirements of the grammar schools varied, yet where such requirements existed they generally included ability to read and write. Thus in Redgrave¹ and Alford the candidate was to be able to "read perfectly and write legibly,"² while in St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors' the following sections of the statutes treat this matter: "The Maister shall admit these Children as they be offrid from tyme to tyme; but first se, that they canne saye the Catechyzon, and also that he can rede and write competently, else let him not be admitted in no wise."³ "But first see, that they can the Catechisme in English or Latyn, and that every of the said Two Hundreth and Fifty Schollers can read perfectly, and write competently, or else lett them not be admitted in no wise."⁴ In not a few cases ability to read meant ability to read Latin as well as English. Thus in Oundle⁵ and Sandwich the candidate was to be able to "write compententlie and to reade perfectlie both englishe and lattyne;"⁶ in Tunbridge the master was to have authority to reject such as applied for *gratis* instruction unless they could "write competently, and read Latin and English perfectly;"⁷ while in Eye the candidates were to be able "distinctly to read as well Latin as English,"⁸ in Norwich they were to be able to say their catechism, read "perfectly both English and Latin, and write competently,"⁹ and in Saint Savior the child was to be examined by the master before the Wardens, "whether he read *English* and *Latin* perfectly, and write his name, and being found able," his name was to be entered into the Register Book

¹ Statutes, 1576. C. C. R., xxii., 151.

² Statutes, 1599. Carlisle, i., 784.

³ St. Paul's Statutes, 1512. Carlisle, ii., 74.

⁴ Merchant Taylors' Statutes, 1561. Carlisle, ii., 54.

⁵ Statutes, 1556. Carlisle, ii., 216.

⁶ Statutes. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 226.

⁷ Statutes, Elizabeth. Carlisle, i., 628.

⁸ Constitutions of the Borough of Eye, 1566. C. C. R., xxii., 140.

⁹ Order of the Court of Assembly, 1566. S. I. C., xiii., 336.

and he was to be admitted.¹⁰ In a few instances the requirements are more specific. Thus, in St. Alban's the candidate had to pass an examination given by the master to determine how well he had mastered his "Accidence without booke."¹¹ In Thame no scholar was to be admitted unless "*Anglice legendi bene longo usu confirmatus, primis rei grammaticae rudimentis imbibendis maturus*,"¹² while in Shrewsbury the following statute deals with entrance requirements: "(the candidate must be able) to write his own name with his own hand; read English perfectly; have his accidence without book, and give any case of any number of a noun substantive or adjective, any person of any number of a verb active or passive, and make a Latin by any of the concords, the Latin words being first given him."¹³

While some of the schools thus insisted upon an elementary education as preparation for the grammar school and admitted "none under a grammar scholar,"¹⁴ not a few schools were burdened with the task of furnishing the elementary education as well as the higher.¹⁵ Thus the school at Burford was to consist of "grammarians scholars" and "petties," "so that every man in the town and parish, minding to set his child to school,

¹⁰ Statutes, 1562. Carlisle, ii., 584.

¹¹ Statutes, 1570. Carlisle, i., 516, 517.

¹² Statutes, 1574. S. I. C., xii., 267.

¹³ Statutes, 1577. Staunton, *The Great Public Schools of England*, 420.

¹⁴ Deed, 1599. Carlisle, i., 340. (Tiverton).

¹⁵ Brinsley in his *Grammar School* indicates the ideal in the words of Philoponus: "For it were much to be wished, that none might be admitted to the Grammar schooles until they were able to reade English: as namely that they could reade the new Testament perfectly, and that they were in their Accidences or meet to enter into them" (p. 13). The following words of Spoudeus probably express the feeling of many of the masters thus burdened: "It seemeth to mee an unreasonable thing that the Grammar schooles should be troubled with teaching A. B. C. . . . : Because it dooth take up almost one halfe of our time, and thereby dooth deprive us of a chiefe part of the fruite of our labours. . . . The very little ones in a towne, in most cuntry townes which are of any bignes, would require a whole man of themselves, to be alwaies hearing, poasing and following them: . . . Besides, it is an extreame vexation, that we must bee toyled amongst such little pettyes."—John Brinsley, *The Grammar School*, p. 13. The school at Stevenage was released from this burden about 1562 when an endowed school was established by the parishioners for the teaching of English, writing and arithmetic.—C. C. R., xxvii., 259.

being mere children having no infirmity or sickness, should be taught his A. B. C., his Catechism, primer, and to read and write until he should be able to be preferred to the grammar school,"¹⁶ while in Burford,¹⁷ Ringwood,¹⁸ Wellingborough,¹⁹ and Worcester,²⁰ reading and writing were to be taught.²¹ In Alford deeds of 1565 and 1568 included A. B. C. and English in the curriculum²² while the charter of 1576 omitted those subjects.²³

In the statements of what was to be taught in the schools there are all degrees of definiteness and indefiniteness. In Leicester the pupils were to be instructed in "good literature,"²⁴ in Rochdale in "learning of true piety and the Latin tongue,"²⁵ in Market Bosworth in "*bonis moribus ac literis, scientia, et virtute*,"²⁶ in Ringwood in Latin, "godly discipline" and "all manner of humane doctrine" as the "customs of such good approved scholars required,"²⁷ in Mansfield in "such good authors as are commonly taught in the grammar schools, with the Scriptures,"²⁸ while in Whitchurch the schoolmaster was to decide what authors should be read.²⁹ In at least 35 of the grammar schools grammar was specifically prescribed.³⁰ In Dedham,³¹ Plymouth,³² and Hartlebury,³³ grammar and writing

¹⁶ Statutes, 1571. S. I. C., xii., 217.

¹⁷ Statutes, 1571. Carlisle, ii., 295.

¹⁸ Deed, 1586. S. I. C., xi., 350. C. C. R., xiv., 529.

¹⁹ Order of the Chancery, Oct. 30, 1596. S. I. C., xii., 377.

²⁰ Letters Patent, 1561. C. C. R., xix., 520.

²¹ The Grammar School of St. Mary Redcliff, Bristol, was founded as a "grammar and writing school." Nicholas Taylor, *Bristol*, ii., 202.

²² S. I. C., xvi., 155, 157.

²³ *Ibid*, 157.

²⁴ Letters Patent, 1564. S. I. C., xvi., 57.

²⁵ Deed, 1564. S. I. C., xvii., 393.

²⁶ Deed, 1564. S. I. C., xvi., 41.

²⁷ Deed, 1586. C. C. R., xiv., 529.

²⁸ Ordinances, 1564. S. I. C., xvi., 401.

²⁹ Statutes, 1570. C. C. R., xxiv., 337.

³⁰ See Appendix M. This number does not include cases mentioned in text.

³¹ Deed, 1571. S. I. C., xii., 47.

³² Deed, 1561. Worth, *History of Plymouth*, 269.

³³ "Also that the said Schoolmaster and Usher shall, at least one afternoon in every week, teach the Scholars of the said School to write and cast accounts, whereby their hands may be directed, and so they trained to write fair hands, and likewise not ignorant in reckoning and accounting."—Statutes, 1575. Carlisle, ii., 759.

were to be taught;³⁴ in Bungay³⁵ and Heighington³⁶ writing and casting accounts were included in the curricula. In East Retford instruction was to be given in "Grammar and other virtuous Doctrine,"³⁷ and in Kirkby Stephen "in Grammar and other humane doctrine,"³⁸ while in Kirkby Kendal,³⁹ Chipping Barnet,⁴⁰ and Wakefield⁴¹ the master was to bring the children up in "grammar and other good learning."⁴² Singing was to be taught by a special master in the school at Coventry to those who desired to learn.⁴³

While it is very probable that "grammar" in the majority of cases meant Latin grammar, yet in not a few cases both Latin and Greek were taught.⁴⁴ Thus the school at Grantham was founded for "the education of boys and youths in Latin and Greek,"⁴⁵ while in St. Bees the master was to "labor to make the scholars profit in Latin and Greek Grammar" and to "exercise them in the best Authors in both tongues."⁴⁶ In the

³⁴ In Eye the master might do as he chose about teaching his pupils to write.—Constitutions of the Borough of Eye, 1566. C. C. R., xxii., 140.

³⁵ "Writing and casting accounts with the pen and counters" were to be taught holidays and Saturdays upon which days school was to be kept until 3 P.M. for that purpose.—S. I. C., xiii., 135 (Statutes, 1591).

³⁶ These subjects were to be taught on festival days. The master was to peruse the writing and cyphering of the pupils weekly and to "set their copies, without extra salary or pay."—Deed, 1601. S. I. C., xix., 42.

³⁷ Statutes, 1552. Carlisle, ii., 287.

³⁸ Statutes, 1566. Carlisle, ii., 715.

³⁹ Deed, 1588. S. I. C., xix., 363.

⁴⁰ Letters Patent, 1573. S. I. C., xii., 108.

⁴¹ Letters Patent, 1592. Carlisle, ii., 910.

⁴² The following are a few more expressions similar to those just quoted: "grammar and other virtuous and godly learning, according to Christ's religion" (Felsted, Deed, 1564. S. I. C., xiii., 59); "grammar and good morals" (Chevely, Letters Patent, 1568. S. I. C., xii., 483); and "grammar and good and virtuous manners" (Deed, 1559. Elmdon, S. I. C., xiii., 55).

⁴³ Benjamin Poole, *Coventry: Its History and Antiquities*, 245.

⁴⁴ The qualifications of masters would indicate that Greek was taught in some cases. Cf. Thesis, p. 60.

⁴⁵ Letters Patent, 1553. Carlisle, i., 805. Latin and Greek were to be taught in Wellingborough.—Order of the Court of Chancery, Oct. 1596. S. I. C., xii., 377.

⁴⁶ Statutes, 1583. Carlisle, i., 157.

Southwell Collegiate School the boys were to be instructed in Latin and Greek grammar and were to read the "*litteras humaniores poetas et oratores.*"⁴⁷

Somewhat more detailed are the specifications in the case of Hawkeshead, where the master was to "teach grammr and the pryncples of the Greeke tongue, wth other Scyences necessarie to be taughte in a grammr schole;"⁴⁸ he was to "teach and inform Greek and Latyne to such schollers of the same schole, as shall be most meete and apte for the same according to the dyscrecion of the said scholemaster"⁴⁹; during school hours he and his usher were to teach "all suche good Authours wch doe conteyne honeste Precepts of vertue, and good Lyteraturer, for the better education of youthe,"⁵⁰ and in order that the master might see how the scholars had "pfyted" "the Chiefest Schollars of the said Schole" were, at the breaking up time at Christmas and Easter, to "make Oracons, Epistles, verses in Latyne, or Greeke."⁵¹

Still more detailed is our information concerning the curriculum of the school at Witton, the statement of which resembles very much that of the curriculum of St. Paul's by Dean Colet.⁵²

⁴⁷ Statutes, 1585. S. I. C., xvi., 426.

⁴⁸ Statutes, 1588. Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 472.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 473.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 475.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 104.

⁵² Dean Colet's articles on this subject are here quoted in full so that comparison can easily be made.

"WHAT SHALL BE TAUGHT.

"As touching in this Scole what shall be taught of the Maisters, and learned of the Scolers, it passeth my witte to devyse, and determine in particular, but in general to speake and ssume what to saye my mynde, I would they were taught always in good literature bothe Laten and Greeke, and good autors such as have the verrey *Romayne* eloquence joyned with wisdom, specially Cristen autors, that wrote their wisdome with clean and chaste Laten, other in verse or in prose, for my intent is by this Scole, specially to encrease knowledge and worshippinge of God and our Lord Christ Jesu, and good Cristen life and maners in the Children.

"And for that entent I will the Children learne first above all the *Catechizon* in Englishe, and after the *Accidens*, that I made, or some other, yf any be better to the purpose, to induce Children more spedely to Laten speeche. And then *Institutum Christiani Hominis*, which that Learned Erasmus made at my requeste, and the boke called *Copia* of the same Erasmus. And then other authors Christian, as *Lactantius*, *Prudentius*, and *Proba*, and *Sedulius*, and *Juvenius*, and *Baptista Man-*

The founder of the school at Witton wills that there be taught "good literature both Latin and Greek, Good Authors such as have the Roman Eloquence joined with Wisdom, especially Christian Authors that wrote their Wisdom with clear and chaste Latin either in prose or verse;" the children were to "learn the Catechism, then the Accidence and Grammar set out by the King Henry the Eight, or some other if any can be better to the purpose to induce children to Latin speech, then *Institutum Christiani Hominis* that learned Erasmus made, then *Copia* of the same Erasmus, *Colloquium Erasmi*, *Ovidii Metamorphoses*, *Terrence*, *Tully*, *Horace*, *Salust*, *Virgil*, and such others as shall be thought most convenient to the purpose unto true Latin Speech." "All Barbarie, all corruption, and filthiness, and such abusion which the blind world brought in" was to be banished entirely, and the master was charged to teach "alway that is best" and to "read to them such Authors as have with Wisdom joined the pure Eloquence."⁵³

Where the staff consisted of two, the master and the usher, the latter was generally given the elementary work.⁵⁴ Thus, in Ipswich the usher was elected to teach "to write, Cipher, and Cast accompt, chiefly suche as are to learn ye Grammer;"⁵⁵ in Aldenham⁵⁶ the usher was to "train up young beginners in

tuanus, and suche others as shall be thought convenient and most to the purpose unto the true Laten speche. All *Barbary*, all corruption, all Laten adulterate which ignorant blinde foles brought into this worlde, and with the same hath dystained and poysonyd the olde Laten speche, and the veraye *Romayne* tongue, whiche in the tyme of *Tully* and *Sallust*, and *Virgell*, and *Terence* was usid, whiche also Sainte *Jerome*, and Sainte *Ambrose*, and Sainte *Austen*, and many holy doctors lerned in theyre tymes. I saye that fylthiness and all suche abusion whiche the later blynde worlde brought in, whiche more rather may be called *Blotterature* then *Literature*, I utterly abannyshe and exclude out of this Schole, and charge the Maisters that they teche alwaye that is beste, and instruct the Children in Greke and redyng Laten, in redyng unto them suche autors that hathe with wisdom joyned the pure chaste Eloquence."—Statutes of St. Paul's, 1512. Quoted in Carlisle, ii., 76, 77.

⁵³ Statutes, 1558. Carlisle, i., 131. The statutes were made by the founder, Sir John Deane, Prebendary of Lincoln, and Rector of St. Bartholemew the Great near Smithfield, in London, with the assistance and advice of other learned men. Cf. Letter in Appendix K.

⁵⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 102.

⁵⁵ Nathl Bacon, *The Annals of Ipswche*, 418.

⁵⁶ Cf. *supra*, p. 56 for qualifications of usher here.

A. B. C., Primer, Catechism, and other English books.”⁶⁷ In Leicester the usher was to teach the “petits” while the master taught the “upper grammar scholars.”⁶⁸ In Wellingborough “English, writing, and casting accompts” were to be taught by the undermaster,⁶⁹ while in Saint Bees the usher was to teach “the children to read and write English, and to say by heart the Catechism in English set forth by public authority, with the additions, and the Accidence;”⁷⁰ when the scholars were able to “learn construction” they were to be admitted into the master’s school.⁷¹

The first books of construction in Latin and Greek in the school at Saint Bees were to be the smaller Catechisms “set forth by public authority for that purpose,” which were to be learned in order that “with knowledge of the tongues they (the scholars) may also learn their duty towards God and Man.”⁷² The statutes of the school then proceed, “These books shall only be read in the said School, except it shall be otherwise appointed by those that have authority:—

The A. B. C. in English.

The Catechism in English, set forth by public authority.

The Psalter and

Book of Common Prayer. } In English.

The New Testament.

The Queen’s Grammar, with the Accidence.

The Small Catechism in Latin, publicly authorised.

Confabulationes Pueriles.

Æsopi Fabulæ.

M. T.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Epistolæ Minores Selecte.} \\ \textit{Officiorum.} \\ \textit{De Amicitia.} \\ \textit{De Senectute.} \\ \textit{Tusculanarum Questionum.} \end{array} \right\}$	Lib.	$\left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Epistolæ Minores Selecte.} \\ \textit{Officiorum.} \\ \textit{De Amicitia.} \\ \textit{De Senectute.} \\ \textit{Tusculanarum Questionum.} \end{array}} \right\}$ In Prose.	
Ciceronis.				
	$\left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Epistolæ Minores Selecte.} \\ \textit{Officiorum.} \\ \textit{De Amicitia.} \\ \textit{De Senectute.} \\ \textit{Tusculanarum Questionum.} \end{array}} \right\}$			
	or any other of his works.			

⁶⁷ Statutes, 1595. S. I. C., xii., 67.

⁶⁸ Deed, 1574. C. C. R., xxxii., pt. 5, 4.

⁶⁹ Decree of the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, 1596. Carlisle, ii., 227.

⁷⁰ Statutes, 1583. Carlisle, i., 157.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, 157.

⁷² *Ibid*, 157, 158.

Salustius.	}	in Prose.
Justinus.		
<i>Comentarii Caesaris.</i>		
Q. Curtius.		
<i>Distica Catonis.</i>	}	In Verse.
Terrentius.		
Vergilius.		
Horatius.		
B. Mantuanus.		
Pallurgenius.		
<i>Buchanani Scripta.</i>		
Sedulius.		
Prudentius.		
<i>Ovidii Metamorphoses.</i>		
<i>Ovid: de Tristibus.</i>		

“The Greek Grammar of Cleonard, or some other generally allowed.

“The little Greek Catechism set forth by public authority, or any other good Author in Greek.”

Concerning the reading of these books the founder then adds: “The Schoolmaster may use his choice of these books, to take or leave as he thinketh meet, to be appointed for every Form, saving that the Accidence, the Queen’s Grammar, and the Catechism aforesaid, shall not be omitted. And the Schoolmaster shall not suffer his Scholars to have any lewd or superstitious books or ballads amongst them.”⁶³

While in the statutes just quoted mention is made of “forms,” no information is given concerning either the number of such forms or the amount of work to be done in each. As the forms varied in number from three to seven, the amount of work to be accomplished varied accordingly. Our information concerning some of the schools thus divided into forms is very limited.

In Oundle there were to be three forms. In the first, the master was to teach the grammar approved by the Queen’s Majesty, and the Accidence and English Rules; in the second,

⁶³ *Ibid*, 158.

Mr. Nowell's Little Catechism; and in the third, Mr. Nowell's Large Catechism.⁶⁴

In Guisbrough and East Retford there were to be four forms. The statute in Guisbrough reads as follows: "The School shall be divided into *Four* several forms,—and in the first shall be placed young beginners, commonly called, 'Petits,'—whom the Master himself shall not be bound to teach so long as they continue there, but only assign so many of his Scholars in the third and fourth Forms, as may suffice to instruct;" and when they were able to "read perfectly" they were admitted into the second form; in the higher forms they were to be taught the rules of grammar exercises and Latin books.⁶⁵ The work of the four forms in East Retford was divided as follows:

*First Form*⁶⁶

A. B. C.⁶⁷

Inflection of Nouns and Verbs.⁶⁸

Acquisition of small Latin vocabulary.⁶⁹

Second Form

"Usual repetition of the inflection of Nouns and Verbs, which is attained in the first form."

⁶⁴ Statutes, Eliz. Carlisle, ii., 215. This probably represents but part of the work accomplished. It is the only definite requirement mentioned in the statutes.

⁶⁵ Statutes, 1561. C. C. R., viii., 724. Carlisle, ii., 806.

⁶⁶ Besides the work outlined in the text the "more prone natures" were to have "some part of the year spared for them" to "hear the explication of Tullie's Epistles written *ad Terrentiam Uxorem* or *Tyronem Libertum* for the familiar phrase in the same."—Statutes, 1552. Carlisle, ii., 283.

⁶⁷ The master and usher were to diligently teach and read "the figures and characters of letters to join, write, sound and pronounce the same plainly and perfectly."—Statutes. *Ibid*, 283.

⁶⁸ If this matter was attended to with diligence, it was thought by the governors that "a good and apt nature in one year might attain a perfect reading, pronouncing and declining of nouns and verbs."—Statutes. *Ibid*, 283.

⁶⁹ This to be accomplished by commanding the scholars to write certain words from the "Epistles" read to them and to repeat the same on the next morning.—Statutes. *Ibid*, 283.

“A more full explication of the Eight Parts of reason, with the Syntaxis or Construction.”

“*Colloquia Erasmi*, and some harder Epistles of Tully.”⁷⁰

Translation of English into Latin.

Old and New Testaments.

Salust, Salern, and Justinian's Institutes.⁷¹

Third Form

“King's Majesty's Latin Grammar.”

“*Virgil, Ovid, and Tully's Epistles.*”

“*Copia Erasmi verborum et rerum*, or so many of the said Authors as the said Schoolmaster shall think convenient for the capacity and profit of his Scholars.”

Daily translation of English into Latin.⁷²

Constant review of the Eight Parts of Speech.

Fourth Form

“The breves and longs.”

“Verses.”

Latin Epistles.⁷³

Greek and Hebrew Grammar, “if the master were expert in the same.”

Greek authors, so far as the master's “learning and convenient time will serve thereunto.”⁷⁴

Inasmuch as the school at Thames was patterned after that at Winchester,⁷⁵ it is very probable that the master in dividing his school into classes imitated the division of the latter school into four forms, the Sixth, Fifth, Fourth, and Lower Fourth (*Quarta Secunda*).⁷⁶ The master was to “instruct the youth”

⁷⁰ These were to be “dissolved and discussed *verbatim*, and the reason for every construction shewed.”—Statutes. *Ibid*, 283.

⁷¹ “If the Schoolmaster and Usher be seen in the same.”—Statutes. *Ibid*, 283.

⁷² Every day the master was to give to his scholars “one English to be made into Latin.” Statutes. *Ibid*, 283.

⁷³ “They of this Form shall write every week some Epistle in Latin, and give it to the said Master or Usher at the end of the Week.” Statutes. *Ibid*, 283-4.

⁷⁴ Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 283-4.

⁷⁵ S. I. C., xii., 266; also A. F. Leach, *A History of Winchester*, 306.

⁷⁶ Leach, *A History of Winchester*, 272. For list of authors read at Winchester in 1550 see Appendix N.

in making verses and in writing prose. The books recommended to be read were Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Plautus, Cicero, Livy, Salust, Justin, Herodian, Terence and Lucian.⁷⁷

While it is not explicitly stated in our material that the school at Cheltenham was divided into forms, it is evident from the following provisions that some such division was contemplated: the school was to consist of fifty pupils; four at least of these were to have a knowledge of the Greek and Latin tongues sufficient to make exercises in prose and verse in them and to speak Latin *extempore*; four others were to be "able to make a sentence of true Latin"; fourteen others were to be ready to learn the accidence, while the residue were to be children of "good aptness to learn."⁷⁸

The cases thus far noted have been (a) those in which there is no information concerning any division, (b) those in which there is a division into master's and usher's schools, and (c) those in which the division is into forms. Still another type, a combination of (b) and (c), existed. The case is that of the school at Sandwich, which was divided into six forms,⁷⁹ the lower three of which were known as the "Usher's Forms," the other three as the "Master's Forms." The division of work into Forms was defended by the founder of the school on the ground that "digressinge in order of teachinge accordinge to the seuerall natures and disposicions of everie scholemaster or usher was a great hindrance to the scholars," and he believed that "a convenient direccion therein of some ordinarie bookes to be read and some exercises to be used might greatly further the scholars."⁸⁰ But the following outline was not to be a hard and fast manual, as the master was bound to follow only what he thought most expedient.

THE USHER'S FORMS

First Form

"Accidence to the rules of construction."

Exercise "in declynying of nownes and verbes according to the fourm prescribed in the preface to the *Queen's* grammer."

⁷⁷ Statutes, 1574. S. I. C., xii., 66.

⁷⁸ Deed, 1586. S. I. C., xv., 33.

⁷⁹ As only six years were to be allowed for the completion of the entire course, it is very probable that each of the forms represented the work of a single year.—Statutes. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 226.

⁸⁰ Statutes, 1580. *Ibid*, 230

Second Form

Rules of construction.

Cato to be read to the scholars.

Exercise "in making of latyne, and other lyke by discrecion."

Third Form

"Suche lattine catachisme as shalbe sett fourth by publike authoritie" and "the dialoge of Castilio" were to be read to the scholars.

Exercise "in turning of lattin into english and english into lattin, and other lyke, by discrecion."⁸¹

THE MASTER'S FORMS

Fourth Form

"Terrence, the epistells of Tulley chosen by Sturing, and Athonii progymnamata" were to be read to the scholars.

Exercise "in varieng of latine and in practicing the exercises of Athonius at tymes appointed, and other lyke, by discrecion."⁸²

Fifth Form

"Salust, Tullis offices, with rules of verefienge, and Virgills eglogs, or some chaste poet," were to be read to the scholars.

Exercises of Fourth Form.

Extemporaneous disputations, "and other lyke, by discrecion."⁸³

Sixth Form

"Tullies oracions, Virgills eneidios, the epistells of Horace and certain of his chaste odes chosen" were to be read to the scholars.

Exercises of the Fifth Form, "with the making of verse, and other lyke, by discrecion."⁸⁴

⁸¹ Statutes. *Ibid*, 230.

⁸² Statutes. *Ibid*, 230.

⁸³ Statutes. *Ibid*, 231. The scholars under the master "for furnishing of their declaracions, disputations, and other exercises," were to be "cauled upon to have and read in private studie Livie, all good histories, poets, books of common phrases, sentences, apothegmes, and suche lyke."

⁸⁴ Statutes. *Ibid*, 231.

As to the number of books to be read, Roger Manwood, the Founder, expresses the following opinion: "In myne opynion, during a schollers remayninge in the grammer schole, he should learne but a fewe books in lattin, and in greek correspondent to them," and was not to be suffered to "rove in many awcthors, but fewe should be learned most perfectlie, and then he maie after with better judgement reade as many as he lyste."⁸⁵

While in some cases the content of the curriculum was prescribed or indicated by the statutes of the school, it is evident from the silence of many of the statutes on this subject that much if not all was left to the discretion of the master.⁸⁶ In a few cases a church official was authorized to exercise this discretion. Thus, in the case of Tadcaster the master was to give instruction in "Grammar and such like authors and books as shall be thought meet by the Lord Archbishop of York."⁸⁷ while in Heighington the schoolmaster was to instruct his scholars "in the accidence and Lilly's grammar and in the Greek grammar, and other easy Latin and Greek authors, according to their capacities and as the Bishop of Durham for the time being shall direct."⁸⁸ The Latin grammar here mentioned was the one which was supposed to be used throughout the realm during this reign as it had not only been allowed⁸⁹ by Her Majesty but its use commanded by Queen Elizabeth in her injunctions of 1559,⁹⁰ and by the Archbishop in his articles of visitation.⁹¹

⁸⁵ Statutes. *Ibid*, 231-2.

⁸⁶ In Kirkby Stephen the master was to read to his scholars the ten commandments in the Latin and "Cato, *Æsop's Fables*, *Tulley's Offices*, and *de Senectute*, and likewise, Sallust, Virgill, and Terence, and such others."—Statutes, 1566, Carlisle, ii., 717.

⁸⁷ Statutes, 1586. S. I. C., xviii., 274.

⁸⁸ Articles annexed to Deed, 1601. S. I. C., xix., 42.

⁸⁹ In Cheltenham (Deed, 1586. S. I. C., xv., 33) and Aldenham the master was to use the "common Latin grammar approved by the authority of the Queen's Majesty (Statutes, 1599. S. I. C., xii., 65).

⁹⁰ Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, 1559.

"XXXIX. Item, That every schoolmaster and teacher shall teach the Grammar set forth by king Henry VIII. of noble memory and continued in the time of king Ed. VI., and none other."—Quoted in Cardwell's *Annals*, i., 194.

⁹¹ Articles of visitation, 1559.

"Item, Whether there be any other grammar taught in any school

Meagre as is the material contained in sources concerning the content of the grammar school curricula, still less information is to be obtained from the statutes, letters patent, and deeds, concerning the methods of instruction. In Seven Oaks the master was to teach according to the methods used in the "School of St. Paul's in London,"⁹² while in Wimborne the master was to give instruction according to the usage of the Schools of Eton and Winchester.⁹³ From the absence of specifications in the many other cases, it is safe to conclude that the majority of masters were left to follow their own ideas, or the methods in common used in the schools at that time. Philoponous in Brinsley's *Grammar School* is probably a good example of master following his own ideas, while Spoudeus, the creation of the same author, is a fair representative of the master subservient to the customs of the day. In fact it is from the part of the latter in the dialogue that we learn the most concerning the methods in teaching the A. B. C. as well as composing and delivering orations then in common use.

In teaching the A. B. C. the common practice seems to have been to have the children read over and over the letters forwards and backwards until they could say them.⁹⁴ This was followed by drill in combinations of letters and sounds.⁹⁵ Where writing was taken up with this work, in many cases daily copies were "set" by the teacher or one of the scholars, the teacher sometimes guiding the hand of the learner and showing him how to "amend" his letters.⁹⁶ As for the other elementary

within this diocese than that set forth by the authority of king Henry the Eight."—Quoted in Cardwell's *Annals*, i., 213.

Archbishop Parker's visitation articles, 1569.

"Whether they (schoolmasters) teach any other grammar than such as is appointed by the queen's majestie's injunction annexed to the same, or no." Cardwell, *Annals*, i., 326.

⁹² Statutes, 1574. Carlisle, i., 621.

⁹³ Letters Patent, 1563. Carlisle, i., 385.

⁹⁴ Brinsley, *The Grammar School*, 15.

⁹⁵ Cf. Thesis, p. 112, footnote 67.

⁹⁶ Brinsley, *The Grammar School*, 28. Writing was also taught by "wandering scriveners," who, according to Brinsley, drew "away the mindes of many of the Schollars from their bookes; even of all such as cannot indure to take pains, nor have any great love of learning" and also caused many "of good hope to leave the schoole utterly."—*The Grammar School*, 38.

subject, "numbers," the results do not seem to have been very gratifying for, according to Brinsley, scholars almost ready to go to the University were to be found who could "hardly tell you the number of pages, sections, chapters, or other divisions in their books, to find what they should."⁹⁷

When the child entered upon the study of Latin, his English, which appears to have generally suffered great neglect,⁹⁸ was anything but improved,⁹⁹ since attention appears to have been focused upon Latin alone. Accidence was the first to receive attention. In learning to "reade the Accedence" the pupil by himself read it over and then the master heard him recite; while in the harder lessons the master read it over to the pupils; the accidence was thus read over several times with the book before the scholars attempted to get it without the book when the same method was used, the pupils being compelled "to keep what they had learned by weekly repetitions,"¹⁰⁰ and by saying parts."¹⁰¹ The process of learning the rules of grammar appears

⁹⁷ Brinsley, *The Grammar School*, 25.

⁹⁸ The following extract from the dialogue throws light on this point: Philoponus.

"But to tell you what I thinke, wherein there seems unto mee, to bee a verie maine want in all our Grammar schooles generally, or in most of them; whereof I have heard som great learned men to complain; That there is no care had in respect to traine up schollars so, as they may be able to expresse their minds purely and readily in our owne tongue, and to increase in practice of it as well as in the Latine or Greeke," Spoudeus.

"I do not know any schoole wherein there is regard had thereof to anie purpose."—*The Grammar School*, 22.

⁹⁹ Spoudeus.

"When my children doe first enter into Latine, manie of them will forget to reade English, and some of them bee worse two or three yeeres after they have been in construction, then when they began it."—*The Grammar School*, 21.

¹⁰⁰ Thus in East Retford (Statutes, 1552. Carlisle, ii., 283) and in Sandwich the pupils were upon Saturdays, or upon Friday, if Saturday happened to be a holiday, to rehearse the "learning of that week neare spent" (Statutes, 1580. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 231).

¹⁰¹ Brinsley, *The Grammar School*, 53. In East Retford, the first part of the morning in the first four days of the school week was devoted to saying over "one of the Eight Parts of Speech like as the manner and fashion is of all Grammar Schools, and upon Friday *Sum es fui*, with his compounds, as shall seem to the Schoolmaster convenient."—Statutes, 1552. Carlisle, ii., 283.

to have been a long and tiresome one; the rules were learned "without booke"¹⁰² and in spite of the application in "parsing and giving the rules" of the lectures the scholars would forget.¹⁰³

The accidence and the rules in grammar were, however, but preparatory to what appears to have held the chief place in the grammar schools, construction, or the translation of Latin into English, which with respect to the order observed in the process was not infrequently an artificial process.¹⁰⁴ The lecture method was used chiefly because of the lack of books for the pupils.¹⁰⁵ The master either read the passage himself or superintended its reading by one of the pupils of the higher forms.¹⁰⁶ The master then parsed¹⁰⁷ or construed the passage.¹⁰⁸ The disadvantages of such a method are evident. It encouraged activity in the teacher but a tendency toward passivity or mere receptivity in the pupils; the teacher was compelled to prepare and give lectures in which he gave the construction, which

¹⁰² Brinsley, *The Grammar School*, 70.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 85.

¹⁰⁴ The following is the order observed in construing of a sentence given by Brinsley: "If there be a Vocative case I must put that first; then I must seek out the principall Verbe and his Nominative case, and construe first the Nominative case; and if there be an Adjective or Participle with him, then I must English them next, and such wordes as they governe; then the Verbe; and if there follow an Infinitive moode, I must take that next; then and lastly, all the other cases in their order; first the Genitive, secondly the Dative, etc."—*The Grammar School*, 92-3.

¹⁰⁵ *Cf. Infra*, 139.

¹⁰⁶ According to Brinsley it was as easy for the master to give the lecture as to hear it given by the upper forms.—*Grammar School*, 89.

¹⁰⁷ Parsing was done chiefly in the lower forms. In parsing the master noted "what part of speech every word was," how it was declined or conjugated and "all questions belonging thereunto;" "what each word is governed of, the rules for everything, and the like."—*Grammar School*, 125. Concerning the time spent in parsing:—"There is so much time spent in examining everything; the Master asking each question particularly, and the scholar answering; which besides the loss of time, is a very great wearinesse to the Master."—*Grammar School*, 138. It was probably to avoid this "loose of time" and "great wearinesse to the Master" that the following statute was made in Sandwich:—"In the pearcing the teacher shall not need more than to examyn which scholler he will at adventure which words he will in the lesson."—Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 231.

¹⁰⁸ *Grammar School*, 41.

the class was supposed to take in and remember.¹⁰⁹ Not infrequently the scholars missed parts of the construction¹¹⁰ which together with a natural tendency to forget¹¹¹ resulted in placing a dependence upon leaders in the class.¹¹² In hearing the lesson the master heard "them whether they could read, say without book, construe and parse."¹¹³ In Sandwich every lesson was to be "said without book and to be construed into English by every scholar reading that author; the words first to be Englished seuevrallie as the grammatical construction lieth, and afterwards the whole sentence or lesson rehearsed in english as it lieth together."¹¹⁴ All things tended to be done "without understanding the reason of them or how to make use of anything."¹¹⁵

The use of translations of which there were thus early¹¹⁶ various types¹¹⁷ appears to have been opposed by some of the

¹⁰⁹ *Grammar School*, 120.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, 89.

¹¹¹ This failing seems to have been common in all parts of the work, in the rules of grammar, in parsing, and in construction, and appears to have caused the master trouble not only in the schoolroom but also outside. Cf. Following: "When gentlemen or others come in and examine them, or their friends try them at home in things they learned a quarter, or halfe a yeere before; they are ordinarily found so rawe, and to have so forgotten, that I do receive great reproach."—*Grammar School*, 90.

¹¹² Spoudeus.

"And if the chiefe of the fourme mistake or goe false, all the rest of the fourme likewise construe false, because they depend on them. They also are afraide to ask me so manie things, and it may bee thee same things againe and againe: whereby it commeth to passe that when they come to say, fewe of them can construe, or hardly any of them perfectly; which increaseth oft my passion, and their fears."—*Grammar School*, 90.

¹¹³ *Grammar School*, 41.

¹¹⁴ Statutes, 1580. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 231.

¹¹⁵ *Grammar School*, 41.

¹¹⁶ By 1612, Brinsley himself had translated "grammatically" the following "Schoole Authors:" "*Pueriles confabulatiunculae*, *Sententian pueriles*, *Cato*, *Corderius* dialogues, *Esops* fables, *Tullies* Epistles gathered by *Sturmius*, *Tullies* Offices with the books adjoined to them—*de Amicitia*, *Senectute*, *Paradoxes*,—*Ovid de Tristibus*, *Ovids Metamorphosis*, and *Virgil*." Brinsley, *Grammar School*, 121.

¹¹⁷ Those mentioned by Brinsley were the interlinear, the word after word type, and the type with the Latin on one page and the English on the opposite.—*Grammar School*, pp. 116–118.

"best and wisest Schoole-masters" on the grounds that they hurt the scholars by leading them "amisise very ordinarily in construing, almost in every sentence" and were found to "make Schollars Truants, or to goe by rote."¹¹⁸

Hardly less important than the construing was the work in Latin composition. This progressed from the translation of simple English sentences in the lower forms, through Latin epistolary, themes and verses to Latin orations.¹¹⁹

In describing "the ordinary manner in countrey Schooles, to enter Schollars to make Latin" Brinsley states that the scholars were given *vulgars*, or English devised by the teacher, which were to be made into Latin at first under the immediate supervision of the master who "taught and heard them, how to make every word in Latine, word by word, according to their rules," but which were later made into Latin within a specified time and then corrected¹²⁰ by the teacher who did not fail to rebuke the pupil sharply for his faults and who in assigning the next "English" probably told the Latin for the hardest words.¹²¹

In the Latin epistolary the aim was an approximation to Cicero's style. To aid in the realization of this aim Cicero's epistles were read to the pupils as were also parts of Macropedius

¹¹⁸ *Grammar School*, 115-16. They gave the sense of the authors translated but failed to assist the pupil in the grammatical understanding of the author. *Ibid*, 116.

¹¹⁹ Thus in Sandwich the usher every Monday was to deliver an "englishe of ij lynes" to his second form, and of "x lynes" to his third form which were to be translated "into lattin at their vacant tymes against Thursday afternoon." "Against the same tyme" the master was to deliver to the fourth form "some epystell which he hath englished owte of Tulley;" to the fifth form "some matter translated owte of Tulley, Cesar, or Livie;" and to the sixth form, "some question whereof themselves shall write *arte propriis*."—Statutes, 1580. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 231 Cf. also Appendix P. After dinner on Thursday "everie schollers doings" were to be "red, the faults gentlie shewed, translaton compared with the original and then the children disimssed to play."—*Loc. cit.*

¹²⁰ Spoudeus makes the following observation about much of this work: "Moreover, this I have knowne for certaine, that many young schollars the more confusedly that they can transpose, or disorder the words of a sentence, the more excellent they think it to be."—*Grammar School*, 158.

¹²¹ *Grammar School*, 148.

or Hegendorphinus *de conscribendis Epistolis*, an attempt being made to follow the rules therein contained.¹²²

The ideal in theme writing was a production "couched full of good matter, written in pure style and with judgment."¹²³ The theme was analyzed into its different parts the aims and objects of each of which were then studied.¹²⁴ From the description of this part of the work given by Spoudeus it would appear that it was discouraging to the teacher and worse to the pupil.¹²⁵

¹²² Spoudeus in the same place thus describes the efforts of the pupils: "They will frame them of long sentences, matters unfit for an Epistle, flash and to little purpose, but very childish, and more like unto a Theame or an Oration then to an Epistle. Thus I see it to be also amongst the chiefe of the Schollars."—*Grammar School*, 166.

¹²³ *Grammar School*, 172.

¹²⁴ Their 'aims were (1) *Exordium*, short, "to gaine the approbation of the hearers and their attention" (p. 179); (2) *Narratio*, to give hearers a clear understanding of the matter (p. 180); (3) *Confirmatio*, proofs and reasons given, authors quoted etc (p. 180); (4) *Confutatio*, to make attacks on weak points of contrary view and to anticipate possible objections by answering them (p. 181); *Conclusio*, "a collection gathered from all the former reasons—to leave a deeper impression in minds of hearers."—*Grammar School*, 181.

¹²⁵ The methods and discouraging results are thus described by Spoudeus:—

"I haue according to the custome in Schooles, read them some of Aphonius rules, and so it may be, haue begun with Apologues or Fables, or rather with Chreia: and in their Chreia, I haue first made the seueral parts of it, or of their Theame so handled, very plaine unto them, with the manner of proofes of it; and of gathering reasons to amplifie it, according to the same.

"I haue giuen them a Theame to make, following the example in their booke, to prosecute the same parts of the Theame, as *Exordium*, *narratio*, *confirmatio*, *confutatio*, *conclusio*, and also to follow the seueral places, to amplifie each thing by. I haue withall shewed them how to doe it: as to trie what they could gather of themselues; and withall to seeke Tullies sentences what they could find out of it, or out of other bookes to their purpose. But yet (alas!) that which my children haue done hereby for a long time, they haue done it with exceeding paines and feare, and yet too—too weakly, in harsh phrase, without any inuention, or judgement; and ordinarily so rudely, as I haue been ashamed that any one should see their exercises. So as it hath driuen mee into exceeding passions, causing me to deale ouer rigorously with the poore boies. Whereby some of them, whose parents haue been more tender, seeing their children heauy and vnwilling to the Schoole, haue suffered them to leaue off the Schoole, and so to lose all which they had gotten

Verse writing was probably the most difficult work attempted by the grammar school scholars. It was found to "be full of difficultie, both in the entering, the progresse, and also in the end."¹²⁶ H. C. Maxwell-Lyte, writing of Eton life in 1560, says concerning this subject, "No *Gradus ad Parnassum* then existed, to assist the would-be poets in finding suitable words for their compositions, and they had to rely on the contents of their own note-books for flowers phrases, or idioms of speech, antitheses, epithets, synonyms, proverbs, similes, comparisons, anecdotes, descriptions of times, etc."¹²⁷ While the following sentence was included in the statutes of but one school, it probably stated a custom very common in England at that time: "The phrases, synanomies, and elagancies shall be chosen owte and appointed to the schollers to write."¹²⁸

The writing and declamation of orations does not appear to have been as common as efforts in the other lines of Latin composition. Brinsley thus describes its place in the curriculum, its object, and the chief characteristics of the average oration:

"I take them to belong rather to the Universities. Yet, because in Schooles of special note, and where there are auncient schoolars, sometimes it may be expected amongst them, that some one of them should make an Oration to entertaine a Benefactor, or other person of note; and it may be, to do it *ex tempore*, as their comming is of a sodaine; therefore before; others also haue been made so feareful, that they would rather desire to go to any base trade or drudgery, then to be Schollars, & hereby haue very much reproached my Schoole: Because, as they haue ouer-rightly complained, they must bee beaten for not doing that, which they knew not how to doe; so that this feare is worse to them, then the first for making Latines.

"And yet notwithstanding, in their entring to make Theames, and so likewise into versifying, I haue not knowen how to auoid it, but haue bin enforced to vse so much sharpnesse, as to make them to call all their wits together, and to stir them vp to diligence and paines; or otherwise I should not have done no good at all." Brinsley, *The Grammar Schoole*, pp. 171-2.

¹²⁶ Spoudeus continues, "that my schollars haue had more feare in this then in all the former, and my selfe also driuen to more seuerity; which I haue been inforced vnto, or else I should haue done no good at al with the greatest part."—*Grammar School*, 191.

¹²⁷ *History of Eton College*, 150.

¹²⁸ Sandwich, Statutes, 1580. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 231.

certaine special heads of an Oration to that purpose might be ever in readinesse. As the commendations of a person for his descent, learning, loue, and countenance of good learning & vertue, beneficence, curtesie, fauor towards that place, and the like. Also for excusing themselues by their tender yeers, want of experience and of practice in that kind, bashfulnesse, timorousnesse; and yet their desire to answere the parties loue & expectation, with presuming vpon their patience, and such others. To be acquainted also with variety of choice phrases to the same purposes, to haue them euer in fresh memory. ' ' 129

While this study of the contents and methods of the curricula of the Grammar Schools in the reign of Queen Elizabeth indicates that the aim of these schools was the development of good Latin scholars, a study of the school life of the pupils will show that the educational aim of the period was more comprehensive in that it was moral and religious as well as scholastic.

¹²⁹ *Grammar School*, 189.

CHAPTER V

THE PUPILS; SCHOOL LIFE AND CUSTOMS

The number of pupils per grammar school varied greatly. Thus the endowment for the school at Penryn was for the education of three boys while the attendance at Shrewsbury in 1581 is given as 360.¹ From the list given in Appendix Q, however, it would appear that the attendance of a large proportion of schools varied between 40 and 60.

It appears to have been the purpose of those interested in the grammar schools that the schools be of assistance to children of all classes.² While the sons of the rich and of the nobility attended grammar schools as at Shrewsbury,³ the schools were founded for the poor as well as the rich⁴ and in some places the poor were to be given the preference.⁵ Even when tuition fees were allowed the master there were usually a certain number of "foundationers," or poor pupils who were freed from the

¹ Cf. Appendix Q.

² Thus, according to the agreement made between the Cathedral and City Corporations in Lincoln in 1583 (S. I. C., xvi., 259), the school was to be open to children of freemen, of such as dwell within the city, liberties, and county thereof, of the inhabitants within the close of the cathedral church, and the liberties of the same, and of the choristers and poor clerks of the said cathedral.

³ Cf. Appendix L.

⁴ Thus, the school at St. Savior was erected in order that the "male Children and youth *as well of the poor as the rich* inhabiting within the said Parish" might be "freely and successfully instructed and educated in grammar."—Letters Patent 1562. Carlisle, ii., 583. Again, the master and usher of the school at King's Lynn (Records of the Corporation, 1594. C. C. R., xxviii., 25), were to teach the "burgesses' children and other poor men's children." This last reference would indicate that the term poor does not necessarily apply only to the most destitute.

⁵ E. G., Redgrave (Statutes, 1576. S. I. C., xiii., 129). In St. Albans "poor men's children" were to be "received into the school *before others*" (Statutes, 1570. Carlisle, i., 516), in Seven Oaks the master was to teach grammar to "whatsoever poor children destitute of help, coming thither for Learning for God's cause freely" (Statutes, 1574. Carlisle, i., 619), while in Abingdon the preference was to be given to the fatherless, widows' and poor men's children (Founder's Deed, 1562. S. I. C., xi., 396).

payment of tuition fees.⁶ In a few cases positive assistance was rendered to poor students.⁷ In Lichfield six poor pupils, selected from the children of poor men in Lichfield were to receive £1 6s. 8d. each for the purchase of books and brooms with which to sweep the school for four years.⁸ In Witton the founder wills that "there shall be forever given and distributed and bestowed among the poor Schollars of my Free School and Parish of Witton 10s. in the Vigil or Eve of the birth of Our Lord God, one half thereof among the said poor folks."⁹ In Crediton the Queen, in her Letters Patent, willed that the governors of the school should "distribute yearly £8 out of the revenues of the said Rectory and Church of Crediton amongst Four boys of the same Parish of the best disposition and capacity for Grammatical Learning" and in the greatest need of exhibition and maintenance;¹⁰ while in Kirkby Stephen a poor scholar was employed as usher.¹¹

Restrictions, where they existed,¹² pertained to sex, age, scholarship,¹³ and territory rather than to the social and economic

⁶ Thus, in Colchester 16 of the 60 scholars were to be "Free Scholars" (1583, Thomas Cromwell, *History of the Ancient Town and Borough of Colchester in Essex*, ii., 312) while in St. Savior the master was to be allowed to take 40 pay scholars out of the 100 (Statutes, 1562. Carlisle, ii., 684).

⁷ The "foundationers" in a large number of the cathedral and collegiate schools received board and lodgings and a small sum of money. Cf. Appendix U; cf. also following quotation from Harrison's *Description of England*, Bk. ii., Chap. iii., 83-84: "There are in like maner diuerse collegiat churches as Windsor, Wincester, Eaton, Westminster, and in those a great number of poore scholers, dailie mainteened by the liberalitie of the founders, with meat, bookes, and apparell, from whence after they haue beene well entered in the knowledge of the Latine and Greek toongs, and rules of versifieng (the trial whereof is made by certaine apposers yearelie appointed to examine them), they are sent to certaine especiall houses in each universitie, where they are receiued and trained up in the points of higher knowledge in their priuate hals, till they be adjudged meet to shew their faces in the schooles."

⁸ Deed, 1555. Carlisle, ii., 479.

⁹ 1558, Carlisle, i., 134.

¹⁰ 1559, Carlisle, i., 258.

¹¹ Founder's Statutes, 1566. Carlisle, ii., 717. Cf. also *Supra*, 56.

¹² In the case of Berkhamsted (Act of Parliament, 1549. S. I. C., xii., 74) there were no limitations as to age, sex, locality, or condition of parents.

¹³ For these entrance requirements cf. *supra*, 104.

standing of the parent. Thus, with but a few exceptions the grammar schools were open to boys and youths alone;¹⁴ the entrance age varied from 6 to 9,¹⁵ while the age of leaving varied from 12 to 20; ¹⁶while the school in not a few cases was founded for the boys and youths of the parish,¹⁷ town or borough¹⁸ in which it was situated, its privileges being sometimes extended to the neighboring places,¹⁹ county or

¹⁴ In Bunbury girls were to be admitted but their number was to be small and none were to continue "above the age of nine nor longer than they may learn to read English."—Statutes, 1594. S. I. C., xvii., 23.

¹⁵ Six or over was the entrance age at Witton (Statutes, 1558. Carlisle, i., 182), between 6 and 18 at Tiverton (Deed, 1599. Carlisle, i., 340) and between 8 and 18 at Cropredy (Deed, 1574. S. I. C., xii., 232), while William Burton entered Nuneaton at 9 (D. N. B., viii., 18). Spoudeus in Brinsley's "Grammar School," p. 9, says concerning the age of admission: "For the time of their entrance with us, in our cuntry schooles, it is commonly about 7 or 8 yeeres olde: six is very soone. If any begin so early, they are rather sent to the schoole to keepe them from troubling the house at home, and from danger, and shrewd turnes, then for any great hope and desire their friends have that they should learne any thing in effect."

¹⁶ Ralph Brownrig, later Bishop of Exeter, left Ipswich for Cambridge at the age of 12 (D. N. B., VII., 83); 15 was the age at which John Overall left Hadleigh (D. N. B., XLII., 375) and Sir Edward Coke, Norwich (D. N. B., XI., 229) for Cambridge; William Burton left Nuneaton at 16 for Oxford (*loc. cit.*), while Robert Bolton left Blackburn for the same university at the age of 20 (D. N. B., V., 330).

¹⁷ Such was the provision at Wakefield (Letters Patent, 1591. S. I. C., xviii., 294).

¹⁸ Such was the provision at Kendal (Deed, 1588. S. I. C., xix., 363), Abingdon (Deed, 1562. S. I. C., xi., 396) and Kimbolton (Deed, 1600. C. C. R., xxiv., 47). In Norwich the parents or friends of the pupils had to be residents of the city (Statutes, 1566. S. I. C., i., Appendix 44).

¹⁹ Thus, the schools at Highgate (Letters Patent, 1565. Carlisle, ii., 162) and Richmond (Letters Patent. S. I. C., xviii., 562) were founded "for the education of poor boys living in" the town and "neighboring parts;" in Ashton (Deed, 1588. S. I. C., xvii., 159) the master was to "teach all youth and young children of Ashton and the adjoining places gratis;" the school at Hexham was founded for the "education of the youth of the parish of Hexham and other adjacent towns" (Letters Patent, 1599. S. I. C., xix., 110); in the case of Rugby the school was "to serve chiefly for the children of Rugby and Brownesover, and next for such as bee of other places thereunto adjoyneing" (Founder's Will, 1567. Rouse, *History of Rugby*, Appendix I.); in the case of Halsted in default of the supply of 43 scholars from the towns of Halsted and Colne Engaine "the sons of poor men who inhabit within 8 miles of Halsted"

counties,²⁰ and to the entire realm.²¹ In Abingdon the restriction was peculiar in that while the number was to be made

were to be received as free scholars to make the number 40 (Founder's Will, 1594. Carlisle, i., 434); the scholars in the school at Cropredy were to come from the villages comprised in the peculiar of Cropredy or in default from the next towns (Founder's Deed, 1574. S. I. C., xii., 232); the school at Boxford was founded for the "instruction of youth of Boxford, Groton, and Edwardstone" (Letters Patent, 1596. S. I. C., xiii., 131); the free scholars of the school at Great Bardfield were to consist of the founder's kin, 12 children from Great Bardfield, 4 from Bardfield Laling, 4 from Little Bardfield, and 6 from Finchingfield (Founder's Will, 1584. S. I. C., xiii., 12); the master of the school at Elmdon was to instruct freely "al children and scholars as should repair or be sent thither to be taught, being born or whose parents should be dwelling within the townships of Elmdon, Crissall, Stuthall, Wendon, Lofts, Over and Nether Chishall, Arkeshen, Barler, Barkway, Manewden, Langley, and Clavering" (Founder's Deed, 1559. S. I. C., xiii., 55); the free grammar school at Dedham was founded for the education of "20 of the poorest men's children apt and meet to receive learning in Dedham, Ardleigh, Much Bromley, and Bradfield in Essex and Stratford in Suffolk" (Founder's Will, 1571. S. I. C., xiii., 47); while the free grammar school at Daresbury was founded for the better education of the children of the inhabitants of the townships of Daresbury, Preston, Newton, Kekwich, Moor, Halton, Acton Grange, Over and Nether Walton, and of such foreigners as had contributed to the foundation of the school (Founder's Deed, 1600. S. I. C., xvii., 38).

²⁰ While, in the case of Felsted, children born on the manor of the founder were to be preferred (C. C. R., xxix., pt. I., 205), yet those born in the county of Essex were to be admitted (Founder's Will, 1564. Carlisle, i., 432); the master of the school at St. Bees was to "refuse none being born in the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland" (Statutes, 1585. Carlisle, i., 156).

²¹ Thus in the case of Tiverton while preference was to be given to scholars raised the first six years in Tiverton, children of "foreigners of honest reputation" were to be admitted also (Founder's Will, 1599. Carlisle, i., 340); the school at Halifax was founded "for the Continual bringing up, teaching, and learning of Children and Youth of the said Parish and Vicarage of Halifax, and also of other Villages and Hamlets near adjoining unto the same, and of other Our faithful and Liege people, whosoever they be, to be taught, instructed and learned there" (Letters Patent, 1585. Carlisle, ii., 808); the school at Whitchurch (Statutes, 1570. C. C. R., xxiv., 337) was to be open to "children of all countries that would come, except such as were infected with any contagious disorder (N.B.—A similar provision existed at Alford concerning disorders: none were to be admitted having "any corrupt or noisome disease on the body or head which is loathsome."—Statutes, 1599. Carlisle, i., 784); while in St. Paul's (Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 75) and Merchant Taylors'

up from the children of the town or county adjoining, only one from each house was to be allowed.²²

In order to be admitted to the school the prospective pupil was usually compelled to gain the consent of, or to "be nominated" or "admitted" by some person or body of persons. Thus in Lowestoft²³ and in St. Paul's²⁴ the pupil was admitted by the master, while in the cases of Dedham,²⁵ Redgrave,²⁶ St. Olaves,²⁷ the Merchant Taylors,²⁸ Sandwich²⁹ and Colchester,³⁰

there were to be "taught in the said Schoole children of all nations and countreyes indifferently" (Statutes, 1561. Carlisle, ii., 54).

²² Founder's Deed, 1562. S. I. C., xi., 396.

²³ Deed, 1571. C. C. R., xxii., 179.

²⁴ Cf. Statutes. Carlisle, i., 75.

²⁵ Cf. Dedham, Appendix F.

²⁶ Cf. Redgrave, Appendix F.

²⁷ Cf. St. Olaves, Appendix F.

²⁸ The following sections of the Statutes (1561) treat the subject of admission of pupils:—

"42. Also The Maister and Wardens of the said Company, for the tyme being, shall have full power and authority to admytt all those children that shall be from tyme to tyme taught in the said Schoole; and, by writing made by The Clarck of this Campany, for the tyme being, they shall signify the admytting or allowing of them unto the School-maister, in his absence to the Head Ussher briefly in this wise:

"Sir, This shalbe to signify unto you that we have admytted N. the sonne of M. the Bearer hereof, to be of the number of those Hundreth of the poore men's Children, which should be taught freely in the said Schoole, upon condition that the said N., within one moneth next ensuing, shalbe by you thought meete to learne, and, being found not apt and meete to learne, as aforesaid, that then this our admyssion of him to stand as void, and then every such Scholler, that so shall be found not apt and meete to learne, to have repayed unto him that *Twelve pence* that he paid on his first admytting into the Schoole, or otherwise to be one of the other two numbers of Schollers before appointed, which said bill to be made by the said Clarck to be subscribed by our Maister and Wardens for the time being.

"43. And none to be taught in the said Schoole unlesse they be first admytted by The Maister and Wardens, and so certified as is aforesaid." Carlisle, ii., 59.

²⁹ Cf. Sandwich, Appendix E. Consent of Mayor and two Jurats was necessary.

³⁰ Cf. Colchester, Appendix E. The following Statute concerns this subject:

"The said Schoole-master, when any place of the said free scholars shall be voyd, shall, within fourteen days at the furthest, give knowledge thereof to the Bailiffs of the said town of Colchester to the end that

he was nominated by the governors, and in Abingdon by the Mayor and Corporation,³¹ and in Tiverton by ten of the citizens of the town who were "most in the Subsidie Bookes of the Queenes Majesty."³²

Before his admission, therefore, it was necessary that the child fulfil certain requirements,³³ in some places that he possess certain academic qualifications,³⁴ and that he obtain the consent of the proper authority to be admitted. In Sandwich a special day was designated for admission of new scholars.³⁵ While the chief feature of the formalities was the writing of the name of the pupil in the register book³⁶ and the payment of

they may supply the same place with others; upon pain that the said Schoole-master shall forfitt to the Bailiffs for the time being to the use of the poor of the said town for every such free scholar so wanting and not knowledge thereof give aforesaid, 10s. of lawful money of England."—Statutes, 1587. Cromwell, *History of the Ancient Town and Borough of Colchester in Essex*, ii., 314.

³¹ Founder's Deed, 1562. S. I. C., xi., 396.

³² Founder's Will, 1599. Carlisle, i., 340.

³³ At Oundle (Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 216) and Sandwich (Statutes 1580. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 226) the parents or friends of the pupil were to consult the master previous to admission to learn from him concerning the rules and statutes of the school.

³⁴ Cf. *supra*, 104. These were generally tested by examination by the master as in Redgrave (Statutes, 1576. C. C. R., xxii., 151) and in St. Mary Overey ("No child of the Parish shall be admitted as a Scholar, but he shall first be examined by the Master afore the Wardens, whether he read English and Latin perfectly, and write his name.")—Statutes, 1562, Carlisle, ii., 584.

³⁵ "Workinge tewdaie of everie week usually to keape schole."—Statutes, 1580. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 227.

³⁶ This feature was a very common custom. In Oundle the register book was to be kept by the usher who was to write therein the "names or surnames of the scholars at their entering" in order that he might make a "just account to the Wardens of the Grocers of all such scholars as came thither;" he was also to note therein their time of departure, the reason thereof, and "whether they went to the universities or no."—Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 217. Likewise in Sandwich the book was kept by the master who entered therein the name and surname of pupil together with date of admission. He was to "make account" to the governors on the "Mundaie nexte after the feast of St. Mychaell the Archangell."—Statutes, 1580. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 227.

the admission fee by the pupil, his parents or friends,³⁷ there were in some places features not less interesting. Thus in Witton the schoolmaster at the admission of every scholar was to read the Statutes, Orders, Rules, and Laws belonging or pertaining to the scholar in the presence of the parents or friends of the pupil, who were to promise to be responsible for the keeping of the same by the pupil.³⁸ Similarly in Sandwich the statutes were to be read by the schoolmaster to the new pupil and his friends who were to promise to be obedient to the statutes.³⁹ In St. Paul's School the master was to "rehearse" the following articles to those offering their children for instruction in the school:

"If youre Chylde can rede and wryte Latyn and Englyshe suffyciently, so that he be able to rede and wryte his own Lessons, then shal he be admitted into the Schole for a Scholer.

"If youre Chylde, after resonable season proved, be founde here unapte and unable to lernynge, than ye warned thereof, shal take hym awaye, that he occupye not oure rowme in vayne.

"If he be apt to lerne, ye shal be contente that he continue here tyl he have competent literature.

"If he absente six dayes, and in that mean season ye shew not cause reasonable (resonable cause is al only Sekenes), than his rowme to be voyde, without he be admitted agayne, and pay 4d.

"Also after cause shewed, if he conteneue to absente tyl the weke of Admyssion in the next quarter, and then ye shewe not the contenance of his sekenes, then his rowme to be voyde, and he none of the Schole tyl he be admytted agayne, and paye 4d. for wryting his name.

"Also if he fall thyrse into absence, he shal be admytted no more.

³⁷ Cf. *supra*, 93.

³⁸ The writing of the pupil's name in a roll of parchment and the payment of the admission fee of 4d. followed. If the payment of this fee were refused, the child was to be "refused and unreceived till such time that it be paid."—Statutes, 1558. Carlisle, i., 132.

³⁹ Statutes, 1580. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 226.

"Your Chylde shal, on *Chyldermas* daye, wayte upon the *Boy Bishop* at *Poules*, and offer there.

"Also ye shall fynde him waxe in Winter.

"Also ye shall fynde him convenyent bokes to his lernynge.

"If the Offerer be content with these Articles, than let his Childe be admytted."⁴⁰

Of a slightly different nature were the articles to be read by the master of the school at St. Albans to those offering their children to be taught in the school. They read as follows:

"Ye shall submit your child to be ordered in all things, according to the discrecion of the Schoolmaster.

"Ye shall find for your child ink, paper, pens, wax-candles for Winter, and all other things at any time requisite and necessary for the maintenance of his study.

"Ye shall allow your child at all times, a bow, three arrows, bowstrings, a shooting glove, and a bracer, to exercise shooting."⁴¹

"Ye shall see dilligently from time to time, that your child keep duely the ordinary hours and times in coming to School.

"If your child be absent above three days in a Quarter (except he be sick) then he shall be banished the School.

"If your child shall prove *unapt* for learning, then upon warning thereof given, ye shall take him away. And again, if he prove *apt*, then shall ye suffer him to remain till he be competently learned."⁴²

It will be noted in the above rules that in admission the privileges of the school were not once for all time granted the pupil but were granted him upon condition that he prove himself worthy of and able to profit from them as well as regular in his attendance. There resulted in some schools a period of probation or testing time. Thus in Oundle,⁴³ if the master or

⁴⁰ "Rules" in the Introduction to the Rudiments of Grammar by Dean Colet, quoted in Carlisle, ii., 81.

⁴¹ A similar provision is included in the Statutes (1579) of the school at Dedham.—C. C. R., xxviii., 217.

⁴² Statutes, 1570. Carlisle, i., 517. The last provision was also included in the statutes of the school at Alford.—1599, Carlisle, i., 785.

⁴³ Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 216.

usher "upon proof or trial of the capacity of the scholar, should find him not meet to learn," they were to "signify the same to his friends to remove him," while in Sandwich⁴⁴ if the pupil was found not "meet to learne," his friends were to be notified and when the consent of the Mayor, or his deputy, and two Jurats had been obtained, the unsuccessful scholar was to be removed.

The problem of regular attendance, however, appears to have been a more difficult and serious one than that of keeping up the grade of scholarship. Spoudeus,⁴⁵ commenting upon the troubles of the schoolmaster, says, "Although I haue been troubled by that diuersitie (of grammars) yet much more by the absence of many of my schollars, when some of them are away, two or three dayes in a weeke, and sometimes happely a moneth together, or almost a quarter of a yeere, as in the haruest time, and it may be that they haue no bookes neither; and yet the Parents will expect, that they should profit as much as if they were there daily, and as if they had all necessary bookes."

The serious results of irregularity in attendance probably accounts for the severe penalties administered in cases of non-attendance. The penalty varied from forfeiture of money to complete expulsion from school. Thus, in Sandwich the pupil absent from school for cause other than sickness and without the consent of the master was to be "corrected" and to "paie to the common boxe⁴⁶ for every dayes absence a penny as the dayes come to;"⁴⁷ under similar circumstances a pupil at Oundle was to pay to the usher "so many pence as the days be in number;"⁴⁸ while in cases of reinstatement of scholars expelled on account of irregularity in attendance the custom appears to

⁴⁴ Statutes, 1580. It should also be noted that the pupils in the school who were unable to write "competentlie" at the time the statutes were made were to be given a period of probation, they were "to atteine writinge competentlie with one quarter of a year next comminge, or ells toe be removed till they can atteine the same."—Statutes. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 226.

⁴⁵ Brinsley, *The Grammar School*, 304.

⁴⁶ Cf. *infra*, 140.

⁴⁷ Statutes, 1580. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 227.

⁴⁸ Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 217.

have been the payment of the admission fee again.⁴⁹ In Kirkby Stephen the penalty for being absent 20 days in the school year "without reasonable cause to be allowed by the said Governors, or two of them," by the heirs of the founder, and by the schoolmaster, was to be complete forfeiture of the "benefits of the school;"⁵⁰ while in the case of the Merchant Taylors' School the following statute deals summarily with the evil: "If any child, after he is received and admytted into the said Schoole, ...shalbe absent from the Schoole, by the space of three weeks together, at any one time, without sickness or any other reasonable lett, ...that then in such a case it were best that such a childe, for no man's suit,shalbe thereafter receaved into our Schoole."⁵¹

The amount of attendance required was very great. There were usually but two vacations, at Christmas and at Easter.⁵² There were, however, a considerable number of holidays and half-holidays, but these did not in every case mean release from work, since in some cases it meant attendance upon church services⁵³

⁴⁹ In St. Albans special suit to the master and governors might be instituted by the parents for the re-instatement of their child, but, if such suit were successful the admission fee of 12*d.* had to be paid again at re-admission.—Statutes, 1570. Carlisle, i., 517. In Alford membership in the school was to be forfeited for absence for space of six days or for the practice of being commonly absent, and upon re-admission the admission fee of 4*d.* was to be paid or not at the discretion of the master.—Statutes, 1599. Carlisle, i., 785.

⁵⁰ Statutes, 1566. Carlisle, ii, 718.

⁵¹ Statutes, 1561. Carlisle, ii., 56.

⁵² At Alford they were from the Even of St. Thomas the Apostle before the Feast of the Nativity until the next day after the Epiphany, and between Tuesday before Easter until the Sunday next after Easter.—Statutes, 1599. Carlisle, i., 784.

⁵³ *Cf. infra*, 149. In the Statutes of the school at Kirkby Stephen the founder wills (1566) that, "How many schollers soever have their abiding within the said Parish of Kirkby Stephen, they shall on the hollydays and half hollydays resort honestly to the Schoole or Church whether the Schoolmaster will lever, and there apply writeing, makeing of epistles, or other devout and vertuous endeavours and exercises as the opportunity of the time and the schoolmaster's discretion shall appoint."—Carlisle, ii., 718.

and in others a change of occupation.⁵⁴ The half-holidays were as a rule "remedies" or times for play. They were usually granted by the master about once a week⁵⁵ and on occasion of the visit of some noted person,⁵⁶ and probably did not amount to more than 48 days altogether in the year. The school year contained, therefore, from 40 to 44 weeks,⁵⁷ of six days per week. A glance at the following schedules will show what an enormous amount of time was therefore spent in school by the grammar scholars of this period.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ In Bungay "writing and casting accounts, with pen and counters" was to be taught holidays and Saturdays and on those days school was to be kept until 3 P.M. for that purpose.—Statutes, 1591. S. I. C., xiii., 135. In Heighington writing and casting accounts were to be taught on festival days.—Statutes, 1601. S. I. C., xix., 42.

⁵⁵ Custom in St. Bees.—Statutes, 1583. Carlisle, i., 161. In Witton^a however, the pupils were to "refresh themselves" Thursday and Saturday afternoons.—Statutes, 1558. Carlisle, i., 133.

⁵⁶ In Seven Oaks the schoolmaster was in "no wse" to give "license or remedy to his scholars in the week days except it be at the pleasure of some Honorable or Worshipful person; or of any of the honest persons of the aforesaid Parish of Sevenoaks or other cause reasonable."—Statutes, 1574. Carlisle, i., 621. In Sandwich the master was not to give "remedie or leave to plaie aboute *once in a week*," unless "the said gouernours or some honorable or worshipfull person present in the school house shall require the same, so as that farther license be but once a week and not two days together nor in the forenoon and *not* withowte shewing some exercise of learninge in presence of hym that asketh the same."—Statutes, 1580. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 228. In the Merchant Taylors' School the teaching staff were permitted to grant one remedy per week upon Tuesday or Thursday afternoon when no "Holliday" fell in that week, but in the weeks in which holidays fell, no remedies were to be granted.—Statutes, 1561. Carlisle, ii., 56. The provision at St. Paul's was the most rigorous, however. It reads: "I will also that they (the children) shall have no *Remedyes*. Yf the Maister grantith any *Remedyes*, he shall forfeit 40s., *totiens quotiens*, excepte the Kyng or an Archbishopp, or a Bishop present in his own person in the Scole desire it."—Statutes, Carlisle, ii., 75.

⁵⁷ Forty-four is the number given by Mr. Fearon in his report. Cf. S. I. C., vii., 264.

⁵⁸ Mr. Fearon gives the number of hours spent in school per annum by the boys of this period in a school upon which he reports as 1,826,—22 summer weeks @ 44 hrs. per week, and 22 winter weeks @ 39 hrs. per week. Cf. S. I. C., vii., 264.

SCHEDULES OF TIME SPENT IN SCHOOL.

<i>Summer.</i>					<i>Winter.</i>				
A.M.		P.M.		Total	A.M.		P.M.		Av.No.
No.	Time.	No.	Time.		No.	Time.	No.	Time.	
5	1-5	4	1-5	9 ⁵⁹	4	1-5	4	1-5	8.5
5	1-5	4	1-5	9 ⁰¹	4	12:30-4	3.5	7.5 ⁰²	8.25
5	1-6	5	1-6	10 ⁰³	4	1-4	3	7 ⁰⁸	8.5
5	1-6	5	1-6	10 ⁰⁴	4	1-5	4	8 ⁰⁶	9
5	1-6	5	1-6	10 ⁰⁶	4	1-5 ⁰⁸	4	8	9

From the above it would seem that there was greater agreement in length of the morning session than in that of the afternoon session, that the common length of the morning session was in the summer term five hours, in the winter term four hours, that the afternoon session varied from four to five hours in the summer and from three to four hours in the winter, that the total number of hours per day varied from nine to ten in the summer term and from seven to eight in the winter term, and that the average number of hours per day for the year varied from 8.25 to nine, which is slightly higher than that of the following schools whose schedules were the same for both summer and winter terms:

⁵⁹ Summer term from March 25th to Sept. 30th St. Albans. On Saturdays and half holidays throughout the year the pupils were dismissed at 3 P.M.—Statutes, 1570. Carlisle, i., 516.

⁶⁰ St. Albans. Winter term, Sept. 30th to March 25th, *loc. cit.*

⁶¹ Hawkeshead. Between the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Michael the Archangel every work day was to commence "at six of the Clock in the Morninge, or at the furthest within one halfe houre after, and soe to contynewe untill Eleven of the Clocke in the forenoone, and to begyne agayne at One of the Clocke in the afternoone and soe contynewe untill five of the Clocke at Nighte."—Statutes, 1585. Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 104, 105.

⁶² Hawkeshead. Winter term, Michaelmas to Annunciation of the Virgin Mary. Morning hour 7 or 7:30. *Loc. cit.*

⁶³ Burford, 1571. Monk, *History of Burford*, 134.

⁶⁴ Seven Oaks. Statutes, 1574. Carlisle, i., 621.

⁶⁵ Skipton. Summer term, March 1, to Oct. 1. Founder's Will, 1548. S. I. C., xviii., 260.

⁶⁶ Skipton. Winter term, remainder of year. The afternoon session was to be from one to five or six "as necessity may require." *Loc. cit.*

Place.	Schedule.				
	A.M.	No.	P.M.	No.	Total
	Time.	Hrs.	Time.	Hrs.	Hrs.
St. Bees, ⁶⁷	7-11	4	1-5	4	8
St. Paul's, ⁶⁸					
Merchant Taylor's, ⁶⁹					
Sandwich, ⁷⁰	6:30-11	4.5	1-5 ⁷¹	4	8.5

Such was the amount of time spent "in school." The school buildings, however, were not generally especially constructed for school purposes.⁷² More frequently it was a little building situated in some church yard.⁷³ Often the school was located in some church⁷⁴ or chapel,⁷⁶ or perchance in some former guild

⁶⁷ Statutes, 1583. Carlisle, i., 161.

⁶⁸ Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 75.

⁶⁹ Statutes, 1561. Carlisle, ii., 55.

⁷⁰ Statutes, 1580. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 228. The schedule of the school at Alford (date 1599) agrees with this except that the opening hour is "between six and seven." Carlisle, i., 784.

⁷¹ 1-5 or after "at the discreacion of the master" who was to take into account the season of the year. *Loc. cit.*

⁷² Even when so constructed the building was not infrequently located in a church yard, e. g., schoolhouse erected in 1582 in Faversham was located on the north side of the church yard. (Carlisle, i., 575.) The school at Rochdale was to be located on a site in the church yard given by the vicar for that purpose. (1565, Carlisle, i., 718).

⁷³ Thus the schoolhouse at Hampton was situated in the church yard (Will, 1556. C. C. R., ix., 282), while in Ringwood a stone house standing in the churchyard was to be converted into a schoolhouse (Founder's Will, 1587. C. C. R., xiv., 529).

⁷⁴ The school in Witton was held in the parish church. (Carlisle, i., 133).

⁷⁵ The school in Wymondham was held in the Chapel of the Virgin Mary and St. Thomas a Becket (Letters Patent, 1559. Carlisle, ii., 199; also Deed, 1577. S. I. C., xiii., 387); in Ashburton in the Chapel of St. Lawrence (Deed, 1593. S. I. C., xiv., 275); in the Parish of St. Mary Redcliff, Bristol, in the Chapel of the Holy Ghost, a building 26 ft. x 56 ft. situated in the churchyard of St. Mary Redcliff (Letters Patent, 1571, Barrett, *History and Antiquities of Bristol*, 596); in St. Albans in a chapel in the east end of the Abbey Church (C. C. R., xxv., 177; also Ashdown, *St. Albans*, 158); and in Crediton in Lady Chapel of the Old Cathedral Church, (S. I. C., xiv., 289). In Yeovil the chapel was converted into a school house at an expense of £12 13s. 4d., which was borne by the parish. (Account of Church Wardens, 1573. C. C. R., iv., 325).

hall⁷⁶ or chantry house.⁷⁷ When not so located and when built especially for school purposes the schoolhouse was generally erected at the expense of the community,⁷⁸ the cost varying from £34 8s. to £600.⁷⁹ It is very probable that some of the schoolhouses, especially the converted chapels, were not comfortable in the winter season, as was the case in Louth where the children suffered from the cold in the Church of St. Mary the Virgin until 1560 when a new building was erected by the governors.⁸⁰ The schoolhouse was generally surrounded by a small yard which was inclosed by a high stone wall penetrated by the little "school gate."⁸¹

⁷⁶ In Basingstoke the school was located in 1583-8 in the Chapel of the ancient fraternity of the Holy Ghost (Baigent and Millard, *History of Basingstoke*, 668); in Norwich in the "Frater or Firmary" belonging to the dissolved Convent of the Black Friars, (Carlisle, ii., 184); in Reading in the Hall of the nunnery, St. John's Hospital (Coates, *The History and Antiquities of Reading*, 312); in Nantwich in the Common Hall of the Guild, a timber building situated in the church yard (G. N. C., 225; also Hall, *History of Nantwich*, 277).

⁷⁷ The schoolhouse of Martley, near Worcester, was formerly the Chantry House (Carlisle, ii., 767).

⁷⁸ Cf. *supra* 13, footnote 22. The schoolhouse at Faversham was erected "by general benevolence and an assessment upon the whole town (Carlisle, i., 575). In Kirkby Kendal the land for the site was granted by a private individual while the building was erected in 1588 by a subscription opened in 1582 to which all classes contributed (Nicholson, *Annals of Kendal*, 189). In 1576 the schoolhouse in Marlborough had to be "propped up;" in 1577 a new one was erected by the mayor and burgesses (Waylen, *History of Marlborough*, 465). The mayor and burgesses of Boston erected the new schoolhouse in 1567; it was built of brick and situated in the Mart yard where the great annual fair was held (Whitefield, *Homes of Our Fathers in Boston, Old England, and Boston, New England*, 24). It should also be noted that the expenses incurred in converting a chapel into a schoolhouse were frequently borne by the community, as in Yeovil where the expenses were borne by the parish (1573, S. I. C., xiv., 247).

⁷⁹ The total cost of the schoolhouse erected in Louth in 1557-8 was £34 8s. (cf. Appendix R). The cost of the school at Marlborough was £112 (Waylen, *History of Marlborough*, 465), of that at Kirkby Kendal £159 18s. 3d. (Nicholson, *Annals of Kendal*, 189), of that at Boston £195 11d. (Thompson, *The History and Antiquities of Boston*, 238), of that at St. Bees in 1587 £300 (C. C. R., iii., 12), and of that at Kingston-upon-Hull in 1583 £600 (S. I. C., xviii., 457).

⁸⁰ C. C. R., xxxii., pt. 4., 673.

⁸¹ Cf. Appendix S for description of school and surroundings at Tiverton.

In such "places of learning" the beginner came at the age of six to nine to spend so many hours of the next five⁸² or six⁸³ years of his life to be trained intellectually, morally, and spiritually. What we have noted concerning the curriculum,⁸⁴ its content and method, will explain in part this enormous amount of time spent in the training of the pupil.⁸⁵ The ground to be covered was extensive; the classes to be taught were numerous and variously graded; and the teacher was compelled to use some form of the lecture method, since his pupils were not as a rule supplied with books.⁸⁶ In a few instances the pupils were required to be supplied with books,⁸⁷ but even in some of these cases they were not deprived of the privileges of the school

⁸² This was the length of time which the pupil might spend at the school in Oundle. It was necessary to obtain the consent of the governors to remain longer.—Statutes, 1556. Carlisle, 216.

⁸³ In Sandwich no pupil was "to tarrie aboue sixe yeres in learninge there, without a great cawse alleged and allowed by the said governors," while no pupil was to be taken from the school "under one monethes warninge and not otherwiese but by publike order in the presence of the major or his deputie and twoe of his brethren, and so openlie to take his leave, and further shewinge some probable cause of his departure."—Statutes, 1580. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 226.

⁸⁴ Cf. Chapter IV.

⁸⁵ Concerning this subject Mr. Fearon in his report (S. I. C., vii., 264) says: "The great amount of time spent in school by the boys according to this time-table (cf. Appendix P) may, perhaps, be explained by remarking the following facts: (1) The scholars were broken up into small classes each of which classes was to do work more or less differing from that of the others. It is not probable that the boys did *much real hard work*, except when actually engaged with the teachers. (2) Owing to the scarcity and dearthness of books, *all lessons in the classical authors were prepared with the master*. He must have done orally for the boys the work that the Latin Primer, grammar, exercise book, lexicon, dictionary of antiquities, classical atlas, gradus, and numerous other hand-books now perform. The boys could not then, as now, prepare a piece of Virgil quietly by themselves their business consists in remembering and reproducing on a subsequent occasion what he has told them."

⁸⁶ Cf. complaint of Spoudeus, *supra* 133.

⁸⁷ In East Retford (Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 283) and Guisbrough no pupil was to "be suffered to continue in the School over one month, except he have books necessary for his Form."—Statutes, 1561. Carlisle ii., 806.

if they were able to write the lectures.⁸⁸ In one case the town corporation purchased two dictionaries for the use of the pupils;⁸⁹ in another, part of the admission fees were devoted to purchasing necessary Latin and Greek books;⁹⁰ while in a third⁹¹ the contents of a box which contained the admission fees and the fines paid by absentees⁹² were devoted to the same purpose.

Since the content of the curriculum was not such as to arouse in the pupils a spontaneous interest, recourse had to be made to various external motives. While prizes were offered,⁹³ and

⁸⁸ In both the cases just quoted in footnote there is a further proviso, "or else daily write his lessons with his own hand."

⁸⁹ Case of Boston. In 1578 it was agreed "that a Dictionary shall be bought for the Scollers of the free Scoole; and the same booke to be *tyed in a cheyne*, and set upon a desk in the scoole, whereunto any scoller may have accesse as occasion shall serve." In 1601 the Corporation purchased two dictionaries, one Greek and the other Latin, which they gave to the schoolmaster to keep for the use of the pupils.—Thompson, *The History and Antiquities of Boston*, 240.

⁹⁰ Case of Cheltenham. The books were to be tied fast with little chains of iron to some convenient place in the school.—Deed, 1586. S. I. C., xv., 33. The master was to have surplus after providing for the school.

⁹¹ Case of Sandwich. This money was to be used by the master to "provide necessarie bookes, as dictionaries or other for the common use of the scholars." Once every year he was to give an account of this money. Statutes, 1580. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 227-228.

⁹² Cf. *supra* 133.

⁹³ Cf. conditions of Queen Elizabeths scholarships at Crediton, *supra* 126. The founder of the school at Sandwich "considering that vertewe and knowledge by praise and reward is in all estates maynteined and encreased an especially in youthe," ordained that after his death there should be disputations in the school on the "tewesdaie nexte after the feaste of St. Mychaell tharchaungell" between seven or eight and nine or ten, the questions to be provided by the master who was to invite the parsons and vicars of the town "with one or two other of knowledge or moe dwelling neighe, who together with the master were to determine which three "of the whole number of seuerall fourmes have done best." The first prize was to be "apenn of sylver whole guilte of the price of 2s. 6d.," the second, "a penn of sylver parcell guilte of the value of 2s.," and the third, "a penn of sylver of 20d." All then were to proceed to the parish church, two by two, the three victors walking last next to the master and usher, "ither of them having a garland on their hedes." In the church, in a place provided by the governors and master, kneeling or standing they were to "sai or syng some convenient psalme or himpne, with a collet having some convenient remembrance and making mencion

other appeals were made to the sense of pride and ambition in the pupils,⁹⁴ the strongest was furnished by fear. Supreme confidence appears to have been placed in the rod or bundle of switches.⁹⁵ Not infrequently the schoolmaster was a severe taskmaster,⁹⁶ who relied upon his rod to inspire his pupils to be

of the church, the realme, the prince, the town, and the founder, as shall be appointed and devised by the master."—Statutes, 1580. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 229.

⁹⁴ Thus in Hawkeshead at the "breaking up time" the week before Christmas and Easter "The Chiefest Schollars" were to "make Oracons, Epistles, verses in Latyne, or Greeke" . . . ostensibly that "therebie the said Scholemaster maie see how said schollars have pfyted."—Statutes, 1588, Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 104. In Sandwich the scholars "according to their well doing" were to "have the highest places with other prefermentes and privileges and favor." And the statutes proceed to decree that "in noe case shall aney respect therein be had of birth, welth, parents, or in anything but of profyting in learning."—Statutes, 1580. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 231. In St. Bees the master was to encourage "the good natured" and those that were "toward in learning, by present and prefering them to higher places." The "slothful and untoward" were to be "dispraised and displaced" in order that "either for love of commendation or fear of shame" they might be provoked "to learn and profit at their books."—Statutes, 1583. Carlisle, i., 157.

⁹⁵ The rod or switch is prominent in some of the seals of the schools of this period, e.g., cf. the seal of the school at Louth, a print of which is given in Carlisle, i., 822. Spoudeus speaking to Philoponos concerning this subject says, "But I perceive that you vtterly dislike that extreme seueritie whereby all things are done in verie many schooles, and the whole gouernment maintained only by continuall and terrible whipping."—Brinsley, *The Grammar School*, 276.

⁹⁶ The following case is probably an extreme one: "The Schoolmaster (of Braintry), Mr. Denman, was very able, and excellent in his faculty; but exceedingly austere, insomuch that the eldest son John, tho' of good parts, yet not bearing the severity of his Master, grew so out of love with learning, that his parents were forced to take him home. But William, on the contrary, being of excellent natural parts, and especially of a strong memory, had such a love to learning that no harshness of his Master could beat him off, but rather it so heightened his diligence, that his proficiency did not seem to contend with, and even to conquer his Master's rigour, yet with a bloody victory: For on a time he received such a blow from his cholerick Master, that he was beaten off a pair of stairs, and had one side of his head so bruised, that the blood gush'd out of his ear, and his hearing was in consequence so impair'd that he became in process of time wholly deaf on that side."—*A True Relation of the Life and Death of William Bedell*, Camden Society Publications, date of incident, between 1580–1584.

regular and punctual in attendance," to memorize and recite their lessons, and to speak Latin in and near the school."⁸ While

⁸ The tardy pupil at Seven Oaks was to be "corrected by the Master and in his absence by the usher, but not rigorously."—Statutes, 1574, Carlisle, i., 622.

⁹ The custom of speaking Latin at school was not uncommon. In Sandwich (Statutes, 1580. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 228) the master and usher were to speak in the "lattyn tonge to their schollers that do understand the same;" in Hawkeshead (Statutes, 1588. Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 481) the pupils were to "contynuallie use the latyne tongue, or the Greeke tongue within the Schole, as they shall be able;" while in Oundle the pupils were to speak Latin to each other "as well in the Schol as coming and going to and from the same" (Statutes, 1556. Carlisle, ii., 217).

The task of compelling the pupils to speak in Latin was not an easy one. Spoudeus in Brinsley's *Grammar School*, p. 212 thus describes the difficulties:—"This I haue found passing hard to acquaint my schollars withall, to bring them to any ripeness or commendable faculty, but still they will speake as a boy who is saying his lesson; though I haue both directed them how to pronounce, vttering the sentences oft before them, and haue very much called vpon them for the same.....I haue laboured and striuen by Ferula, and all means of seuerity, yet haue not benne able to make my Schollars to vtter their mindes in any tollerable manner, of ordinary things, but in very barbarous phrase, nor so much as to put it in practice amongst themselves; much lesse to vtter their minds in Latine easily, purely, and freely as it were to be wished."

The common practice seems to have been to require the Latin conversation only in the higher forms. Thus, in Guisbrough the pupils of the two higher forms were to "speak nothing within the School-house but *Latin*, saving only in teaching of the lower forms."—Statutes, 1561. Carlisle, ii., 806. Cf. also Brinsley, *The Grammar School*, 214.

As the pupils would persist in speaking English and winking at each other when out of the master's sight (Brinsley, *Grammar School*, 219), the custom of appointing *Custodes* grew up. It and the evils arising from it are thus described by Brinsley (*loc. cit.*):—

"That is a vsuall custome in Schooles to appoint *Custodes*, or *Asini* (as they are tearmed in some places) to obserue and catch them who speake English in each fourme, or whom they see idle, to giue them the Ferula, and to make them *Custodes* if they cannot answere a question which they aske..... Oftimes, he who is the Custos will hardly attend his own worke, for harkening to heare others to speake English.

"Also there falleth out amongst them oft-times so much wrangling about the questions, or defending themselues, that they did not speake English, or were not idle, that the whole fourme is troubled. So likewise when the *Custodes* are called for, before breaking up at dinner and at night, there will be so much contention amongst them, as is a disquieting and trouble to the Master. Moreouer, that I haue obserued, that

some of the pupils may have had "their diligence heightened" by such treatment,⁹⁹ not a few came to dislike both school and learning, and, according to Brinsley,¹⁰⁰ "thought themselves very happy, if their parents would set them to any servile or toiling business, so that they might keep from school." While the dislike thus fostered was revealed in some places by barring out the master at certain seasons of the year,¹⁰¹ yet submission

ever if there be any one simple in a fourme or harder of learning then the rest, they will make him a right *Asinus*, causing such to be the *Cus-todes* continually, or for the most part, if they cannot answer: and to this end will be alwayes watching them; whereby many such are not only notably abused, but very much discouraged for being scholars, when they see themselves so baited at by all; some others are made ouer malipart thereby."

⁹⁹ Cf. footnote 93, p. 141.

¹⁰⁰ *The Grammar School*, 278.

¹⁰¹ The custom is mentioned in the following terms in the Statutes of the school at Witton (1558, Carlisle, i., 133): "A weeke before Christmas and Easter (according to the old Custome) they barre and keepe forth of the Schoole the Schoolemaster in such sort as others Scholers doe in great Schooles." Mr. Sinclair in his *History of Wigan*, vol. 1., 182, says concerning this custom:—"The custom was allowed by deeds of endowment in many schools and was looked forward to by the boys with greater glee than if it were a holiday. Under the captaincy of the head boy on a special day, generally before Christmas, books were packed away, the army of pupils arrayed, and the master pushed roughly or gently, according as he was a tyrant or favorite, to the door. Then all hands to work; forms and desks were piled one above the other behind the door with the master's chair on top. The door was barricaded and the master barred out. Then there were wild revelry and lusty cheers. The head boy took the cane and in the middle of a ring of smiling pupils broke it and threw the pieces to be broken by the younger furies. In a few minutes was heard a knocking at the door, and everyone knowing well it was the exiled master called out, "Who's there?" "It is I, open, you rogues!" the master would call in pretentious fury. But they were masters of the situation and would only open conditionally. The conditions were that all past and present offenses should be forgiven, and on no others would the door be open. At last the master would feebly yield to the conditions and be admitted with three hearty good cheers—no punishments for that day,—and the usual routine commenced." It may have been with an eye on the possibility of injury to school property in escapades similar to this just described that the following article was included in the Statutes of the school at St. Albans: "If anything shall be broken or any hurt done anything belonging to the school by any of the scholars, the same shall be repaired forthwith and amended at the charges of the friends of the child that did that hurt, and if the friends refuse

was necessary, since resistance meant expulsion.¹⁰² Did the pupil leave one school for another he was liable to run the risk of being denied re-admittance to the former,¹⁰³ while in some

to amend the said hurt, being thereunto required, upon such refusal the child that did the hurt shall be banished the school until his friends have satisfied the said hurt."—Statutes, 1570. Carlisle, i. 516.

¹⁰² Thus the founder of the school at Witton wills "that all the Scholars of what estate, condition, or degree soever they be, shall submit themselves to due correction of the Schoolmaster, which at their entrance shall be promised as well by their Friends as themselves, ... which correction shall always be referred to the direction of the Schoolmaster, and not to the opinion or mind of the Schollars, and for disobedience and resistance thereof they shall be expelled the School for ever, unless their Friends by earnest suitors to the Schoolmaster, and can prevail with him and get in such sort that their humble stubbornness; And also forseeing the great inconveniency and enormity that wilful persons and ignorant, who had rather Children through dissolutness and over much liberty should commit offences worthy of punishment, to their shame and undoing, then to have them corrected by the discretion of the Schoolmaster, according to the quality, quantity, and gravity of their offences, ... and upon complaint of the Children, their Parents come to molest and disquiet the Schoolmaster against reason and order, I will that all such mentioned Children, after due proof of such folly and fondness of the Parents herein, shall be utterly expelled this School for ever, unless they shall be able to prove that the Correction done was unreasonable and that to be proved before and to the Feoffees of the said School and Overseers for the time being:"—Statutes, 1558. Carlisle, i., 132. In Kirkby Stephen any pupil "despising the master's authority and his reasonable correction" was to be expelled until he gained the consent of the governors and the patron of the school to return and was ready "to receive the schoolmaster's reasonable correction."—Statutes, 1566. Carlisle, ii., 718.

¹⁰³ In the case of St. Paul's the statute dealing with this subject reads as follows:—

"Yff any Childe after he is receyved and admitted into the Scole, go to any other Scole, to learne there after the maner of that Scole, than I will that suche Childe *for no man's suite shall be hereafter received into our Scole*, but go where him lyst, where his friends shall thincke shall be better learninge. And this I will be shewed unto his friendes or other that offer him at his first presenting into the Scole." Carlisle, ii., 76. While the statutes of the Merchant Taylors' School were equally rigorous (1561, Carlisle, ii., 56), those of the school at Sandwich provided that the pupil might be re-admitted upon "special consent of the master and that upon such cawse as shalbe allowed by the said governours."—Statutes, 1580. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 227.

instances there was no school in the town to which he might go should he desire to do so.¹⁰⁴

Harsh though this discipline was, it was a means to the great end of all education, the development of a strong moral character. The boy may have been driven and whipped into much barren knowledge, but this process was not carried on for the pleasure derived from the process itself. It was conscientiously believed that in mastering Latin he was fitting himself for life and developing character. The punishments he received were to help him in his efforts by making unstudious habits unpleasant. But while dealing thus indirectly with the moral life, direct treatment is not neglected. The authors read were to be such as would develop "purity of life and manners"¹⁰⁵ while "lewd and superstitious books or ballads" were to be eschewed.¹⁰⁶ "Honestie and cleynlyness of lief, speache and manners, namely lowliness and curtesie" were to be "stablished by all good meanes," while "pride, rybawdrie,¹⁰⁷ lyeng, pyckinge, and blas-

¹⁰⁴ Thus in Sandwich the founder willed that "in the said town of Sandwich none other grammar schole be tawghte" (Statutes, 1580. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 227), while in Lincoln at the time of the union of the City and Cathedral grammar schools the Bishop covenanted not to permit or license any other grammar school within the city or three miles thereof.—Deed, 1583. C. C. R., xxxii., pt. 4., 349. On the other hand there is the following record of a request made by a schoolmaster in Warwick: "The other petition hee made not for his owne gaine although some perhappes would censure him covetous of the wch vice hee frelie clearde himself but for the avoydance of some misconvenience wch might ensue, that the number of teachers and scholemrs might bee wthin this borough abated. The toleration of whom impugned common law of the realme, imposed penaltie uppon the corporacion insured diversitie of opinion, and prjudiced the good education of yonge schollers."—Report of a meeting of corporation held 4 December, 1594, quoted in *The Black Book of Warwick*, 400.

¹⁰⁵ Aldenham, Statutes, 1599, S. I. C., xii., 66. In Kirkby Stephen the master was to read and interpret such authors as would "induce and lead them to virtue, to godliness, and to honest behaviour, and to knowledge of humanity, but not to wantonness or sauciness."—Statutes, 1566. Carlisle, ii., 717.

¹⁰⁶ St. Bees, Statutes, 1583. Carlisle, i., 158. If any of the pupils used "swearing, filthy talk, lewd and licentious Books or Songs," they were to be "sharply punished."—*Ibid*, 161.

¹⁰⁷ In Oundle in order "to cause the Scholars to refrain from the detestable vice of swearing, or Ribauld words," it was ordered that the

phemyinge" were "to be sharplie punished."¹⁰⁸ Games and practices whose influences or effects were demoralizing were prohibited,¹⁰⁹ while healthful sports were encouraged.¹¹⁰ The influence of the school went with the boy during his vacation,¹¹¹ while it also cared for and guarded the boy attending school away from home.¹¹²

scholar was to have three stripes "for every oath or Ribauld word spoken in the school or elsewhere."—Statutes, Eliz. Carlisle, ii., 218.

¹⁰⁸ Sandwich, Statutes, 1580. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 231.

¹⁰⁹ "They (the students) shall use noe weapons in the schole as sworde, dagger, waster, or other lyke to fighte, or brawle withal, nor any unlawful gamming in the schole. They shall not haunt Tavernes, Aylehowses or playenge at anie unlawfull games as Cardes, Dyce, Tables, or such lyke." Hawkeshead, Statutes, 1588. Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 104. Three warnings were to be given those who broke the statutes of the school. If reformation did not then take place, the delinquent was to be expelled by the master, or in his absence by the usher. A pupil so expelled was not to be received "into the Schole agayne without humble suyte and earnest petycion made to the gournors and master of his reconciliacon."—Statutes, 1588. Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 481. The pupils at Witton were to "eschew all Bowlinge, Cardinge, Dyceing, Quiteing, and all other unlawfull games."—Statutes, 1558. Carlisle, i., 133.

¹¹⁰ Cf. *supra* 132. St. Albans. The pupils at Witton were urged to practice archery, 1558, Carlisle, i., 133. A. E. Gibbs is quoted by Ashdown, *St. Albans*, 160-161, as saying concerning this subject: "Archery and similar pastimes were at that time considered essential parts of a young man's training, and he was thus early taught to follow such pursuits as tended to promote muscular strength and prepare him for a military career."

¹¹¹ The pupil at Hawkeshead was to be "of honeste and vertuous Conversacon, obedient to the master and usher in all things touching good mannrs and learning bothe in the school and elsewhere."—Statutes, 1588, Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 481. In Witton the statutes of the school were to be read to all the pupils assembled in the church before the breaking up of school in order that they might "better remember their duty in the time of their absence;" the master was to give "an exhortation in the school how they shall order themselves till their return;" when four of the Trustees and Churchwardens were to be present to "give warning to such scholars as they shall see to offend against the said exhortation or against any of the said statutes."—Statutes, 1558. Carlisle, i., 133.

¹¹² Among the class of schools with which we are concerned not many were at this time boarding schools, the majority of which were such schools as Winchester, Eton, Shrewsbury, and the Cathedral and Collegiate Schools. It has been noted, however (cf. *supra* 127), that provision was made for the attendance of pupils from outside of the local community

Closely united with the conception of moral discipline was that of religious training, in which State, Church, and School were equally interested. The attitude of the State towards this phase of education was very definite. Silent on the subject of the intellectual preparation of its schoolmasters it insisted that they should be men who "professed the true religion."¹¹³ Silent also concerning the details of the secular life of these masters, it insisted not less forcibly that the appropriate hours of Sunday and Holydays be spent by them in attendance upon divine service.¹¹⁴ The same injunctions which made the use of Kings Grammar compulsory contained also the three following articles:

"XLI. Item. That all teachers of children shall stir and move them to live and do reverence to god's true religion now truely set forth by public authority.

"XLII. Item. That they shall accustom their scholars reverently to learn such sentences or scriptures as shall be most expedient to induce them to all godliness.

in which the school was situated. In some places permission was given to the teaching staff to furnish board and lodging for such pupils (*cf. supra*, 92). In Gilpin's School in Houghton la Spring a large number of the boys attending the school were boarded and lodged in Gilpin's house free of all charge (D. N. B., XXI., 379). In Sandwich the pupils were to board and room in Sandwich or within a mile and a half of the town. If the pupil did not live with the master or usher, the party who took him to board was to "faithfully promise to the master before his admission to keep him contynually from all unthriftie pastimes and games in his howse, and further to lett the master betimes haue informacion in case that they be lewdlie occupied within or without his howse, not in aney pointe boulstringe up their evil;" upon failure to keep this promise complaint was to be made by the master to the governors, and if the evil were not then reformed, the party was to be deprived and excluded "from having aney schollers of this school to boerde." It should also be noted that parents having boys in school were to exercise the same diligence and that failure to do so meant the dismissal of the boy from the school.—Statutes, 1580. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 226–227.

In Oundle the parents of a boy who was to board in the town were to consult the master and usher so that the boy might not be placed in a family where it was known that "the good man and his wife were such as should give example to the scholars to follow gaming or other vain pastimes not meet for students."—Statutes, Eliz. Carlisle, ii., 217.

¹¹³ *Cf.* Letter of Queen's Council to Archbishop Grindale. Appendix J.

¹¹⁴ *Cf.* Article VI., Statutes, Anno 23^o Eliz. C. 1. quoted *supra*, 67 *cf.* also License to Swetman, quoted Appendix I.

“XLIII. Item. Every parson, vicar, and curate shall upon every holyday and every second Sunday in the year hear and instruct the youth of the parish for half and hour at the least before evening prayer in the ten commandments, the Articles of the Belief, and the Lords Prayer, and diligently examine them and teach the Catechism set forth in the book of public prayer.”¹¹⁵

The attitude of the Church was not less definite. In their visitations, bishops were to inquire into the religious condition of master and pupils,¹¹⁶ while clergymen were to give religious instruction to the children.¹¹⁷ Both State and Church¹¹⁸ were alive to the danger from papist and puritan masters, whose influence, in spite of the vigorous action taken against them, continued to be felt.¹¹⁹

The interest of the school in the religious education of its pupils was not less than that manifested by State and Church. With these institutions it insisted upon its masters possessing certain religious qualifications¹²⁰ and the stamp of approval of the bishop of the diocese in which the school was situated.¹²¹ It was left to the school to attend to the details of that training which was to realize the ideals of State and Church, to devote itself to the religious education of its pupils. In this education emphasis was placed upon instruction and devotional exercises.

¹¹⁵ Injunctions of Elizabeth, 1559. Cardwell, *Annals*, i., 195.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Articles of Visitation quoted in Appendix J.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Article XLIII., Queen's Injunctions of 1559 quoted above.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Letter of Queen's Council to Archbishop Grindley, Appendix J.

¹¹⁹ Thus in the Report to Council on the condition of Lancashire and Small reformation made by Ecclesiastical Commission, quoted in the *Calendar of State Papers—Domestic*, 1591-4, 158, we find the following bit of information: “The youth are for the most part trained up by such as profess papistry; no examination is had of schools and schoolmasters. In the same volume, pages 258 and 262, Coles, the schoolmaster at St. Giles, Holborn, is accused of being a catholic or catholic sympathizer while on page 283 nine persons residing in Lancashire are accused of having kept priests or recusants as schoolmasters. Cf. also Letter of Queen's Council to Grindley, Appendix J.

¹²⁰ Cf. *supra*, 58 ff.

¹²¹ Cf. *supra*, 67 f.

Religious Instruction

The character of this instruction was doctrinal and dogmatic.¹²² The chief text book appears to have been Dean Nowell's Catechism. The English catechism was required in some places for admission to the school,¹²³ while in others it was taught by the usher.¹²⁴ In the higher forms the Latin and Greek translations were learned,¹²⁵ and in some instances the Greek New Testament and a Latin translation of the Ten Commandments were read.¹²⁶ The character of the texts used indicate that the method of instruction was chiefly catechetical,¹²⁷ the pupil in some places being examined not only in his catechism, but also on the sermon preached in the parish church the preceding Sunday.¹²⁸

Devotional Exercises

While intellectual religious conceptions were developed through instruction, effort was made through the devotional exercises of the Church and school to develop the emotional and volitional phases of the religious life. The devotional exercises of the Church were her services.¹²⁹ Upon these services pupils as well

¹²² Among the subjects prescribed at Newcastle-upon-Tyne was the "Rudiments of the Christian Religion."—Letters Patent, 1600. S. I. C., xix., 122. In Hawkeshead the master was once every "weeke at the leaste to instructe and examyne his schollers in the Pryncyples of trewe Religion to the ende they maie the better knowe and feare God."—Statutes, 1588. Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 475.

¹²³ Cf. Ringwood, *supra*, 106.

¹²⁴ Cf. Aldenham and St. Bees, *supra*, 110f.

¹²⁵ Cf. St. Bees, *supra*, 110–115.

¹²⁶ Cf. *supra*, 116, footnote 86.

¹²⁷ One day each week the master at Bunbury was to catechise and instruct his pupils in the principles of religion.—Deed, 1594. C. C. R. x., 194. At Bungay (Statutes, 1591. S. I. C., xiii., 135) the scholars were every Saturday afternoon to learn "all such things as concern the Christian faith and religion, both in Latin and English."

¹²⁸ E.g. Cheltenham, Deed, 1586. S. I. C., xv., 33. In Bunbury all pupils were to attend service Sabbaths and Holidays; those who could were to take notes upon which they were later to be examined by the master.—Deed, 1594. C. C. R., x., 194.

¹²⁹ The services were not devotional alone; they also furnished instruction through the sermons, and in some cases they included catechetical instruction. Thus in East Retford one of the pupils every Sunday was to "read the Catechism in English openly and distinctly in the body of the

as masters attended Sundays and Holydays.¹³⁰ Indeed, the masters were not infrequently held responsible for the attendance and conduct of their pupils¹³¹ who were often seated apart from the rest of the congregation.¹³² While some of the pupils carried

said Parish Church. between the Morning Prayer and the Communion, as well for their own instruction as for the instruction of other young Children.'—Statutes, 1552. Carlisle, ii., 284.

¹³⁰ In Burford the scholars were to come to the house of the master every Sunday morning at eight to say prayers and to go with him to the parish church; when there was no service, they were to sing 'psalms and read a chapter in the school.'—Monk, *History of Burford*, 134. In Oundle all the pupils, upon the Sabbath and Holydays, were to 'resort to the parish church in the time of Common Prayer.'—Statutes, Eliz. Carlisle, ii., 218. In Hawkeshead 'the scholemaster, usher and schollers for the tyme beinge from tyme to tyme' were to 'use, and frequente the Church upon the Sabbothe daie, and holie daies, to heare divine Seruice, and Sermons.'—Statutes, 1588. Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 478. In St. Albans the master and scholars were to attend morning and evening service at St. Alban's Church on Sundays and Holidays.—Statutes, 1570. Carlisle, i., 515. In Kirkby Stephen the founder wills that, 'On the hollydays in the time of service at the Church, the Schoolmaster and the Schollers shall be there at the Devine Service, and use devout and comely order without any talking or light demeanour.'—Statutes, 1566. Carlisle, ii., 716.

¹³¹ In Eye the master was to 'see that his scholars attend church on Sundays and holydays.'—Constitutions of Eye, 1566. C. C. R., xxii., 140. In East Retford the master and usher were to 'command and compell their Scholars to come and hear Divine Service in the Parish Church every Sunday and Holiday.'—Statutes, 1552. Carlisle, ii., 284. In Oundle either master or usher was to be present 'to oversee them that they do not misbehave themselves.'—Statutes, Eliz. Carlisle, ii., 218. In Heighington the master was to take 'especial regard that every scholar come duly and orderly to the Church every Sunday and holyday, at morning and evening prayer.'—Articles annexed to Foundation Deed, 1601. S. I. C., xix., 42. In Hawkeshead the master and usher were to 'giue good regard, that the said schollers doe at all tymes behaue themselves soberlie and reurendlie in the Church especiaillie duringe the tyme of diuyn service and sermons.'—Statutes, 1588. Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 478.

¹³² In 1562 the churchwardens of the church at Yarmouth were directed to find seats for the master and his scholars.—Manship, *The History of Great Yarmouth*, ii., 368. In Hawkeshead the schoolmaster, usher, and scholars were to sytt together in some conveniente place in the chuncell of the said Church.—Statutes, 1588. Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 478. In St. Albans the master and his scholars were to sit together in the 'Chancell or some place of the Church as the Parson, Churchwardens, and Schoolmaster shall agree.'—Statutes, 1570. Carlisle, i., 515.

either English or Latin Prayer Books,¹³³ all who could were to participate in the services either by singing or recitation.¹³⁴

While the items of information concerning church attendance are thus rather meagre, the statute of the School at Sandwich concerning this subject is complete and interesting enough to be quoted in full. It reads as follows:

“*Item*, I ordeine, that *all the Schollers upon the Sabbath daie and holy daies resort in dewe time to the Schole-house, and from thence by two and two in order to goe to Devyne Service in the nexte Parische Church* in Sandwich wherein English Service is used, the Master, if he be there, going before them, and the Ussher, if he be there, after them; but one of them at least being present to oversee them; And, in like order to departe by two and two owte of the church when the Master or Ussher then present shall apointe them to departe. And, on every Saturday in the afternoon, before their going to church, the Master and Ussher or one of them with all the Schollers devoutlie on their knees, the Schollers aloud, to saie one prescribed forme of Praier, wherein shall be made mencion of *the Church, the Realme, the Prince, the Estate of the Towne, and the Fownder and his Posteritie*. And I ordayne, that the Master and Ussher duellie everie *Munday or nexte Schole day* after the Sabbath daie, in the morning call to reconing all such of the Schollers as *ither absent themselves from such comminge to the Church, or from being att the Church, or came tardy to it, or otherwise use not themselves reverentlie there in prayer, everie of them having a Prayer booke in Latyne or English according to the Master his appointment, and in that behalfe to use correccion as shal be convenient, and that by the said Governours there be appointed in the Church, place convenient for the said Schollers to be together, and not any other boyes or children to be there emongst them,*

¹³³ In Oundle each of the scholars, “as the master shall appoint,” was to have a Prayer Book, either in Latin or English.—Statutes, Eliz. Carlisle, ii., 218.

¹³⁴ In East Retford those scholars “apt and meet for the same” were to “help in the Quire to maintain the said Divine Service there.”—Statutes, 1552. Carlisle, ii., 284. The scholars of St. Albans while in the church, either before or in the service itself, “kneeling on their knees” were to say after the master or Curate, the Lord’s Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and prayers for the Royal Foundress and other Benefactors of the school.—Statutes, 1570. Carlisle, i., 515.

to th'end their silence and other demeanour maie the better be seene unto and reformed.''¹⁸⁶

While attending the services of the Church, the school also held devotional exercises. Sometimes these were in the church as in the case of Kirkby Stephen,¹⁸⁶ but more often they were held in the schoolhouse.¹⁸⁷ As a rule they appear to have been of the nature of morning and evening prayers,¹⁸⁸ which consisted of either reading from the bible, singing psalms, and saying prayers,¹⁸⁹ or merely saying prayers.¹⁴⁰ These prayers were

¹⁸⁶ Statutes, 1563. Carlisle, i., 603.

¹⁸⁸ The Statute referring to these exercises reads as follows:—

“And, I will that every morning and evening at Six of the clock, which are the days for learning of Schollers and keeping of Schoole, the Schollers by two and two, and the Schoolmaster, shall go from the Schoolhouse into the Parish Church, and there devoutly upon their knees before they doe enter the quire say some devout prayer, and after the same they shall repaire to-gether into the Chappell or quire, where I have made and sett up a tomb, and there sing together one of these psalms hereafter instituted, such as the Schoolmaster shall appoint.....so as every of the said psalmes be sung within fifteen days together, (*viz.*) 103: 130: 145: 46: 3: 61: 24: 30: 90: 96: 100: 51: 84: 86: 45: and that done, repaire to the School house, and in the evening quietly to their lodgings; and if any of the Schollers be absent at any time of the said prayers or psalmes, then the Schoolmaster to doe due correction for his or their absence.”—Statutes, 1580. Carlisle, ii., 717.

¹⁸⁷ Prayers were to be said daily in the school at Moulton.—Statutes, 1560. Carlisle, i., 837.

¹⁸⁸ In Alford the scholars were to say morning prayers “for the better speed and success in their labors;” they were also to say prayers at five o'clock in the evening before leaving the schoolhouse.—Statutes, 1599. Carlisle, i., 784. In St. Bees the scholars, the usher, and the master were with “audible and distinct voice” to say prayers “upon their knees, both at their coming and departing.”—Statutes, 1583. Carlisle, i., 161. In St. Albans the master and pupils “every working day in the morning at their first coming” were to say “upon their knees, the Suffrages, the Lord’s Prayer,” and prayers for the Foundress and other benefactors,.....“And every Evening, before they depart the School, the Ten Commandments, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Creed.”—Statutes, 1570. Carlisle, i., 516.

¹⁸⁹ In Bunbury some portion of the Scriptures was read and prayers were said at the meeting of the school; before dinner some portion of the New Testament was to be rendered from Greek or Latin into English, while at night before their departure the pupils were to read a chapter from the Bible, to sing a psalm, and to say prayers, each pupil, “according to his capacity and his friends’ ability, to be provided with a Bible, Testament, and Service Book.”—Founder’s Will, 1594. C. C. R., x., 194.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. cases of Sandwich and Oundle quoted in next footnote.

sometimes appointed by the master,¹⁴¹ not infrequently by some Church official,¹⁴² while in some cases they were prescribed by the founders¹⁴³ or by the governors.¹⁴⁴ Their character can be judged best by considering some of the prayers themselves. The following cases are typical and will indicate the chief characteristics of prayers said by the pupils in the daily devotional exercises of the schools.

¹⁴¹ In Sandwich the master and usher, or one of them at least, with their pupils were "at halfe hower before seaven of the clock, firste devoutely kneling on their knees" to "praie to almightie God according to the fourme by the master prescribed, on every schole daie," and likewise in the evening before leaving the school they were "devoutly on their knees" to pray "in fourme by the master to be prescribed."—Statutes 1580. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 288. Similarly in Oundle the morning and evening prayers were to be in the form prescribed by the master but they were always to contain mention of the Church, the Queen's Majesty, the Realm, the Lady Laxter (wife of the founder), and the Company of Grocers of London (the governors of the school).—Statutes, Eliz. Carlisle., ii., 217.

¹⁴² Daily "at their coming to school in the morning and at their departure at night and at such time as they go to play" the pupils of the school at Seven Oaks were to say "such prayers as shall be appointed by the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's Grace." These prayers were to be "written in a table and kept in the school for the same purpose." On every Friday morning throughout the year, the pupils were to hear the Procession said or sung, after which they were to pray for the "good estate of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury" and to give God thanks for the benefits bestowed upon them by their benefactors, "in such manner and sort as shall be prescribed in the said Table."—Statutes, 1574. Carlisle, i., 622. In Burford, the master was to exhort his scholars four times a year "to give thanks to God," and he was then to recite the names of all the founders and benefactors of the school, and then they were to sing a psalm and "depart from the school."—Monk, *Hist. of Burford* 134.

¹⁴³ The following statute was made by the founder of the school at Witton concerning this subject:—

"And that they thrice a day serve God in the School, rendering him thanks for his goodness done to them, craving his especial grace that they may profit in virtuous learning to his honor and glory, praying for the Soul of their Founder by name, and for the Souls of his Father and Mother and all Christian Souls, ... and once every week, that is to say on the Friday, to say the Seven Penitential Psalms with the Litany of Prayer and Collect, and every second Friday the Psalms of the Passion with Psalms of Mercy and de Profundis with a Collect at the end thereof, ... and once a year, that is to say on Jesus Day in the afternoon, in whose name this school is erected in the Parish Church aforesaid, to say the Dirigay and Comondasony."—Statutes, 1558. Carlisle, i., 133.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Appendix T., Morning and Evening Prayer at East Retford.

The founder of the school at 'Hawkeshead, Bishop Sands, Archbishop of York, treats the subject in his Statutes as follows:

"Also I ordayne and Constytute, that certayne godlye Prayers hereafter set downe and ymediatellie followinge in these Constytucons, be made in the said schole by the scholemaster for the tyme beinge, the usher and the schollers of the same schole, eu^rie mornynge before the said scholemaster, and usher begin to teache the said schollers and everie eveninge ymediatellie before the breakinge up of the said schole, And eu^rie day before they goe to dynner to singe a Psalme in Meter in the said schole.

"A Praier for the Morninge

"Most mightie god, and m^rcyfull ffather, we sinners by nature, yett thy Children by grace, here pstrate before thy devyne Ma^{tie}, doe acknowledge our Corrupcon in nature, by reason of our synne to be suche, that we ar not able as of our selues to thinke one good thought much lesse able to pffytte in good learninge and lyterature, and to come to the knowledge of thy sonne Chryste o^r sauour, except yt shall please the of thie great grace and goodnes to illumynate o^r understandinge, to stregthen o^r feable memories, to instructe us by thy holie spyritt, and soe powre upon us thy good guifts of grace, that we may learne to knowe to practyse those thyngs in these o^r studies, as may most tende to the glorye of thy name, to the profit of thy Church, and to the pformaunce of our Chrystyan dewtie, Heare us O god, graunt this our Peticon, and blysse o^r studies O heauenlye ffather, for thy sonne Jesus Chrystes sake, in whose name we call upon the, and saye O our father, &c.

"A Prayer for the Queenes Ma^{tie}

"O lord our heavenlie father, highe and myghtie kinge of kinges, lord of lords, the onlie ruler of Prynces w^{ch} doest from thie throne beholde all the dwellers uppon the aerthe, most hartellie we beseche the wth thy favour to beholde our moste gracious Soureigne Ladie Queene Elizabeth, and soe replenishe her wth the grace of the holie spirytte, that she may allwaie inclyne to thy will and walke in thy waye, indue her plentifullie wth heavenlie gifts, graunte her in healthe and welthe, longe to live, stregthe her, that she maie vanquishe an ou^rcome all her

Enymes, and finallie after this lyffe, she may attayne eu^rlasting ioye and felicitye, throughe Iesus Chryste o^r Lord Amen.

“*Eveninge praier att breakinge up of the Schole.*

“Most gracious god and most m^rcyfull father we acknowledge how muche we ar bownde to thy divine Ma^{tie} for all those great giufts and manifolde m^rcyes w^{ch} thou of thy mere grace and fauour hathe bestowed vpon us, as well for o^r Eleccion, Creacon, Redempcon, Justification, and sanctification, wth all other good gifts of bodie and mynde, and what else soeu^r we haue of thy grace and fauour we haue receyued yt. As alsoe that thou haste moved the mynde, and stirred up the harte of Edwyn Archbushopp of Yorke our ffounder to purchase and pui^de this free grammar Schole for us for o^r educacon and breedinge in good literature and learninge. Graunt O god that we may eu^r be thankfull for the same, and giue us grace not to abuse this great gifte of mercie; but that we may soe applie o^r studies holpen and directed by thy holie spiritt, that we maie increase in all good knowledge and learninge to the glorie and prayse of thy name. Graunt This O god for thy sonne Jessu Chryst’s sake o^r onelie Redem^r and savi^r.

“All hono^r glorie and praise be giuen to the most m^rcifull father and gracious god, for all thy louinge kindnes and manifolde graces powred downe vpon us, Namelie that yt hath pleased the to ptet us in this daie from all daingers of the Enimie bodelie and ghostlie, and to increase thy gifts of knowledge, and godliness in us. Graunt us O good god to loue the for these soe great m^rcies, still to growe in thankfullnes more and more towards the; And for soe muche as thou haste appointed the Nighte to reste in, as the daie to travill, giue unto us suche quiete and moderate sleepe, as may strengthen our weake bodies to beare those labours wherunto thou shalt appoint them. Suffer not the Prince of darkness to preuaile in the darknes of the nght, nor for eu^r againste us: but watche thou still ou^r us wth thine Eye, and garde us wth thy hand aganiste all his decypts, and assaulte, and thouhe o^r bodies doe sleepe, make thou our soules to watche lokinge for the appearinge of the sonne Iesus Chryste that we may be wakinge to mete him in the Cloudes to entre wth him into eternall ioye and blissednes. These things we Croue at thie handes for thy Sonne Christe Iesus sake, to whom

wth the and the holie ghoste be rendred all praise glorie and matie for eu^r and eu^r Amen." ¹⁴⁵

Made possible by the gifts and endowments of many men and organizations and maintained through the labors of governors and masters, the influences just described were such as tended to develop in the grammar-school boys of this period a peculiar type of character moulded by Morality and Religion as well as by Scholarship. As an ideal, the realization of this type of character in the lives of deserving boys furnished the most powerful motives for the foundation and maintenance of the schools; as a standard, it was applied to determine the type of master who was to control as well as to be a part of these influences; while as the chief educational aim of this period, it determined both content and method of the curriculum of the English Grammar Schools of the Elizabethan Age.

¹⁴⁵ Statutes, 1588. Cowper, *Hawkshead*, 475-8. Cf. Appendix T., Morning and Evening Prayers at East Retford.

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APPENDIX A

LIST OF SCHOOLS FOUNDED OR EXISTING IN REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

- Abergavenny, f.¹ 1543, by Henry VIII. Charter in effect to the beginning of reign of Wm. III.²—C., ii., 164.
- Abingdon, f., 1562, by John Royse, Citizen and Mercer of London.—C., i., 28. About 1570 Sir Thomas Smith was a pupil here.—D. N. B.,³ LIII., 127.
- Aldenham, f., 1599, by Richard Platt, Brewer of London.—C., i., 528.
- Alford, Donations made to school in 1565, while L. P.⁴ were granted in 1576.—S. I. C.,⁵ xvi., 155. Statutes were made in 1599.—C., i., 784.
- Alnwick.⁶ Record of salary given to master in 1588.—Tate, *Alnwick*, ii., 73.
- Andover, f., 1569, by John Hanson, Gentleman (native).—C., ii., 437.
- Appleby.⁸ Endowment was received in 1569, while L. P. were issued in 1574.—S. I. C., xix., 301. Reginald Bainbrigg, B.A., was appointed master in 1580.—D. N. B., II., 434.

- Ashborne, f., 1585, by subscription under L. P.—S. I. C., xvi., 436.
- Ashburton.⁶ Chapel deeded for school-house in 1593.—S. I. C., xiv., 275.
- Ashby de la Zouch, f., 1567.—C., i., 742. George Bainbridge was master about 1587.—D. N. B., VI., 182.
- Ashton-in-Makerfield, f., 1588, and in 1589 site was granted for school.—S. I. C., xvii., 158.
- Atherstone. Charter granted in 1573.—C., ii., 615.
- Aylesbury, f., about 1584, by Sir Henry Lee.—Gibbs *Aylesbury*, 476.
- Aylesham,⁶ f., 1517, by Robt. Jennys, Mayor of Norwich.—C., ii., 177.
- In 1567 a scholarship was founded for scholars from this school.—C., ii., 185. There is record of vacancy being filled in 1573. Strype, *Life of Archbishop Parker*, ii., 335.
- Barnestaple. Record of the school in 1597.—Gribble, *Memorials of Barnestaple*, 521.
- Barton-under-Needwood, 1593 is the date of foundation deed.—S. I. C., xv., 379.
- Basingstoke, f., reign of Henry VIII.—C., ii., 438. Mention of school in 1580.—Baigent and Millard, *A History of Basingstoke*, 668.
- Bath, f., 1553 by Edward VI.—C., ii., 400. John Hales (1584-1656) was pupil of this school about 1597.—D. N. B., XXIV., 30.
- Bedale.⁶ School endowed by Queen Elizabeth.—S. I. C., xviii., 509.
- Bedford.⁶ Charter granted in 1552.—C., i., 1. School endowed in 1566 by Sir William Harpur.—C., i., 2.
- Berkhamsted.⁶ Free School of Ed. VI., founded in 1549.—C., i., 532. Record of three ushers before 1561.—Cobb, *History of Berkhamsted*, 116. Richard Field, D.D., (1561-1616) pupil, about 1575.—D. N. B., XVIII., 410.
- Berwick-upon-Tweed. Record of three schools in city in 1577.—Scott, *Berwick-upon-Tweed*, 393.
- Biddenden,⁶ f., 1566, by will of John Mayne.—S. I. C., xi., 21.
- Birmingham, f., 1552, by Ed. VI.—C., ii., 621.
- Bishop Stortford, f., 1579, by will of Mrs. Margaret Dane.—S. I. C., xii., 93.
- Blackburn.⁶ Chantry school dissolved in reign of Ed. VI., while in 1567 L. P. were granted upon petition of the inhabitants.—S. I. C., xviii., 173. Lawrence Anderton, learned Jesuit (1577-1643), a pupil about 1590.—D. N. B., I., 396.
- Blackrod, f., 1568, by will of John Holmes.—S. I. C., xvii., 178.
- Bodmin,⁶ f., and endowed by Queen Elizabeth.—C., i., 137.
- Bosbury, L. P. of endowment granted in 1566.—S. I. C., xv., 205.
- Boston.⁶ Before reign of Ed. VI., school was supported by guild of St. Peter and St. Paul.—C. C. R.,⁷ xxxii., pt. 4., 11.—L. P., 1554.—C., i., 788. School house built, 1567.—Whitefield, *Boston, Old England, and Boston, New England*, 24.
- Botesdale, or Redgrave. L. P. to Sir Nicholas Bacon, 1561.—S. I. C., xiii., 129. Statutes made by Bacon, 1576.—C. C. R., xxii., 150.
- Boxford. L. P., 1596. S. I. C., xiii., 131.

- Brentwood, f., 1557, by Sir Anthony Browne.—C., i., 408. Statutes drawn up in Elizabeth's reign by Grindal and Nowell.—*Ibid.* Endowment willed to school in 1565.—S. I. C., xiii., 17.
- Bridgewater, f., 1561, by Queen Elizabeth.—C., ii., 402.
- Bridgenorth, f., 1503, by Bailiffs and Corporation; in 1547, school was continued; while in the reign of Elizabeth the salary of the master was augmented.—C., ii., 340.
- Bristol (City Grammar School), f., 1531, by Robert Thorne.—Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol*, ii., 256. 1561, date of deed to school.—S. I. C., xv., 24.
- Bristol (Cathedral Grammar School), f., 1545, by Henry VIII.—Nicholls and Taylor, ii., 255-6. School existed in reign of Elizabeth. *Ibid.*
- Bristol (Grammar School of Parish of St. Mary Redcliff), f., 1571, by L. P.—Barrett, *History of Bristol*, 596.
- Bromyard,⁶ L. P., 1566.—C., i., 485.
- Broughton in Preston, f., 1590, by indenture of feoffment.—S. I. C., xvii., 197.
- Bruton,⁶ or Browton, refounded, 1553, by L. P.; Hugh Saxey, Auditor to Elizabeth and James, a pupil of this school.—C., ii., 412.
- Bunbury. L. P., 1594.—S. I. C., xvii., 23.
- Bungay. School as early as 1580.—S. I. C., xiii., 135.
- Burford,⁶ refounded, 1571.—C., ii., 295.
- Burnley. Scholarships for school founded in 1572.—C. I., 706.
- Burton, f., 1520, 1590; endowment of £9 received from Eliz. Paulet—S. I. C. xv., 396.
- Burton-Latimer, f., 1587, by deed of Elizabeth Burbank.—S. I. C., xii., 326.
- Cambridge. Act for assurance of lands to school in 1589. 31 Eliz. 8.
- Canterbury (King's School), f., 1542, by Henry VIII.—C., i., 567 (*Cf.* also *Public Schools Yearbook* (1899), p. 41.) Scholarships founded in 1569 at Cambridge for graduates of school.—C. i., 564.
- Carlisle, (King's School), f., 1546, by Henry VIII.—C., i., 175. Maintained by Dean and Chapter to 1883.—*Public Schools Yearbook* (1899), p. 46.
- Chelmsford,⁶ L. P., 1552.—C., i., 411. Endowment for usher received, 1565.—S. I. C., xiii., 25.
- Cheltenham,⁶ f., 1574, by Richard Pates, Esq.—C., i., 446.
- Chester (King's School), f., 1544, by Henry VIII.—C., i., 105. Amount of salary of staff given for 1582.—Appendix L.
- Chesterfield, f., 1594, by Godfrey Foljambe, Esq.—C., i., 215.
- Cheveley (Raye's School), endowed by John Ray, 1558; L. P., 1568.—S. I. C., xii., 483.
- Chipping Barnet. L. P., 1573, granted Earl of Leicester.—C., i., 531. Site granted for school house, 1599.—S. I. C., xii., 108.
- Chipping Campden,⁶ f., 1487.—C., i., 444. Robert Harris (1581-1658), pupil, about 1593.—D. N. B., xxv., 23.
- Chipping Norton. Schoolhouse given to school, 1572.—S. I. C., xii., 229.

- Circencester,⁶ f., 1508; stipend of master increased, 1573.—C., i., 447.
 Chantry converted into school, 1545.—Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, 326.
- Colchester, endowed by Henry VIII., 1539, and by Elizabeth, 1584.—C., i., 424.
- Coleshill. Two endowments dated 1563.—C. C. R., xxix., 1031.
- Colne. Notice of appointment of master in 1557 and following years.—Marsh, *History of Colne*, 209.
- Congleton. School repaired, 1553.—S. I. C., xvii., 36. School existed in reign of Elizabeth.—Gastrell's *Notitia Cestriensis*, 239, footnote 11.
- Coventry,⁶ f., 1546, by John Hales, Esq.; endowed, 1573, by executors of Hale.—C., ii., 646-7. Act of Parliament, 1581.—Private Acts, 23 Eliz. 4.
- Coxwold, f., 1603.—S. I. C., i., App. 56.
- Cranbrook, f., 1574.—C., i., 571.
- Crediton,⁶ L. P., 1547.—C., i., 254. L. P. confirmed and salary of master increased, 1559.—C., i., 257.
- Crewkerne,⁶ 1577, date of deeds of feoffment.—S. I. C., xiv., 203.
- Cropredy, f., 1574.—S. I. C., xii., 232.
- Cromer,⁶ managed by Goldsmith's Co. in 1569.—S. I. C., xiii., 295.
- Crosby Ravensworth. School stock increased, 1600.—S. I. C., xix., 338.
- Crosthwaite. Deed, 1571, in school chest.—S. I. C., xix., 207.
- Croyden, f., 1600. C. C. R., xxxi., 871.
- Daresbury, f., 1600, by subscription. C., i., 108.
- Darlington,⁶ Charter to Bishop of Durham, 1567. C., i., 389.
- Dartford, founder's deed, 1576. S. I. C., i., App. 52.
- Daventry, f., 1576, by Wm. Parker, Woolen Draper, London.—C., ii., 205.
- Dean, f., 1596, by John Fox, Goldsmith.—C., i., 187.
- Dedham, endowed by Wm. Littlebury, Gent., 1571; L. P., 1574.—C., i., 428.
- Derby, 1162. Mansion given as school house to Canons of Darby; Queen Mary gave school to Corporation.—C., i., 218. Endowment received for augmentation of master's salary, 1605.—S. I. C., xvi., 487.
- Doncaster. School mentioned in records of Elizabeth's reign.—*A Calendar of the Records of the Borough of Doncaster*, iv., 57, 73.
- Donhaved,⁶ aided by Queen Elizabeth.—Richard Peter, *History of Launceston and Dunhaved*, 340-50.
- Dorchester, 1569, date on the wall of school house.—C., i., 364. 1579, date of founder's deed.—S. I. C., i., App. 58.
- Drayton in Hales, L. P., 1555.—C., ii., 347. Record of school in reign of Elizabeth.—C. C. R., xxiv., 301.
- Dronfield, L. P., 1571; school endowed, 1579.—C., i., 221.
- Dudley. 1562, date of one of school deeds.—S. I. C., xv., 555.
- East Adderbury, f., 1589, by Christopher Rawlins, B.D.—C., ii., 292.
- East Retford,⁶ Statutes made in 1552.—C., ii., 280.

- Eaton College, f., 1440, by Henry VI.; existed 1558-1603.—*Cf.* H. C. Maxwell-Lyte, *History of Eaton College*.
- Elmdon, f., 1559.—S. I. C., xiii., 55.
- Enfield. 1558, date of declaration of uses in which is contained schedule (1507) referring to schoolmaster.—C., ii., 116.
- Evesham.⁶ School existed in reign of Elizabeth.—C., ii., 754.
- Exeter. 1343, school mentioned; 1388, name of master given; 1561, school rebuilt by common subscription.—C., i., 271. Richard Hooker (1554-1600), theologian, pupil about 1567.—D. N. B., xxvii., 289.
- Eye. School mentioned in the Constitutions of Borough of Eye in 1566. In 1593 land was given for usher.—S. I. C., xiii., 167-68.
- Farnworth. f., 1507.—C., i., 653. 1547, rent charge left for usher.—S. I. C., xvii., 437. Excellence of grammar school, 1553-56, mentioned.—Hooks, *Lives*, v., 190.
- Faversham. 1527, Abbey Grammar School for novices endowed, but was soon afterwards suppressed.—C., i., 574. L. P., 1576, upon petition of inhabitants.—Edward Jacobs, *History of Faversham*, 54.
- Felsted, f., 1564.—C., i., 432.
- Findon, or Thingdon, f., 1542. 1595, school house built.—C., ii., 206. License for erection of school, 1597.—Calendar State Papers, Dom. 1595-7, 353.
- Fotheringhay, Thomas Hurland, master, 1556-89.—C., ii., 207.
- Gainsborough. L. P., 1589.—C., i., 797.
- Giggleswick in Craven. L. P., 1553.—C., ii., 801. J. Shute (1588-1643) pupil, about 1597.—D. N. B., lii., 170.
- Gillingham. 1599, salary of master mentioned.—C., i., 372.
- Gloucester (St. Mary de Crypt School), f., 1528, by will of Alderman John Cook.—C., i., 452. First master appointed in 1547; school victorious in case in chancery.—C. C. R., xxxii., pt. 2., 645. John Taylor (1580-1653), the "water poet," a pupil about 1593.—D. N. B., lv., 170.
- Godmanchester. L. P., 1561.—C., i., 555.
- Grantham,⁶ refounded and endowed, 1553, by Ed. VI.—Street, *Historical Notes on Grantham*, 148. Statutes of school confirmed, 1571.—C., i., 805.
- Gravesend. 1580, supposed date of foundation.—Cruden, *History of the Town of Gravesend*, 222. Record of appointment of master, 1595. *Ibid*, 226.
- Great Bardfield. School mentioned, 1584.—S. I. C., xiii., 12.
- Great Blencow, or Dacre, f., 1577.—C., i., 170.
- Greenwich, Edmund Hooper, pupil, 1567.—D. N. B., xxvii., 301.
- Grimsby, or Great Grimsby.⁶ L. P., 1547.—C., i., 815. 1564, school involved in suit in chancery.—C. C. R., xxxii., pt. 4., 423.

- Guildford, f., 1509, by Robert Beckingham, Grocer of London.—*History of Guildford*, 94. 1520, school house built by Corporation; 1551, endowment augmented by Ed. VI., upon petition; 1586, apartments for master completed.—C., ii., 565–67.
- Guisbrough, or Guisburn. L. P., 1561, to Robert Pursglove, Clerk.—C., ii., 804.
- Hadleigh, John Overall, D.D., (1560–1619), pupil, about 1575.—D. N. B., xlii.
- Halifax, or Skirtcoat. L. P., 1585.—C., ii., 808.
- Halsted, f., 1594, by Dame Mary Ramsay.—C., i., 434.
- Harrow, f., 1571, by John Lyon, Yeoman; statutes promulgated, 1590.—C., ii., 125. First headmaster appointed, 1608.—Williams, *Harrow*, 36.
- Hartlebury, Record of school as far back as 1440. L. P., 1558.—C., ii., 757. Statement of revenues of school, 1557–8.—C. C. R., xxvi., 631.
- Hawkeshead, f., 1585. Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 472.
- Heighington, f., 1601, by will of Elizabeth Jenison.—S. I. C., xix., 43.
- Hereford, 1384, earliest record of school; building erected in reign of Elizabeth.—C., i., 488–9.
- Heskin. L. P., 1600.—S. I. C., xvii., 270.
- Hexham. L. P., 1598.—C., ii., 245.
- Higham Ferrers, f., 1422.—C., ii., 209. L. P., 1556, granting borough right to elect master.—S. I. C., xii., 347.
- Highgate, f., 1562, by Sir Roger Cholmely to whom L. P. were granted in 1565.—C., ii., 162. In 1565 gift was received from Edmund Grindal.—S. I. C., xii., 35.
- High Wycombe, or Wycombe. Memorandum of school, 1552, in corporation register; 1562, mention made of master's salary.—C., i., 94. Parker, *Wycombe*, 143.
- Hoddesdon. Joseph Mead (1586–1631), pupil.—D. N. B., xxxvii., 178.
- Horncastle, f., 1571, by L. P. to Edward Lord Clynton and Saye.—C., i., 817.
- Horsham, f., 1532.—C., ii., 601. Thomas Comber (1575–1654), D.D., pupil.—D. N. B., xi., 435.
- Houghton-le-Spring. About 1569, Hugh Broughton (1549–1612), pupil.—D. N. B., v., 459. 1574, date of foundation charter.—C., i., 403.
- Huntingdon. Dwelling house of master rebuilt, 1561.—C. C. R., xxiv., 17. School mentioned in report of Commissioners of Charitable Uses, 1570.—S. I. C., xii., 421.
- Ilkley. School taught, 1601, on such terms as master could make with parents; school really established, 1637.—Collyer and Turner, *Ilkley*, 175.
- Ipswich. Mention of schoolmaster as early as 1477 and 1488.—C., ii., 521. Earlier charter confirmed, 1566.—*Ipswich, Gifts and Legacies*, 112.

- Kendal, or Kirkby 'Kendal,'^a endowed, 1525 and 1548; school house built, 1588.—Nicholson, *The Annals of Kendal*, 189.
- Kimbolton, f., 1600, by deed.—S. I. C., xii., 425.
- King's Lynn, turned over to Corporation, 1550.—C., ii., 182. Mentioned in Records, 1558–1603.—C. C. R., xxviii., 25.
- Kingston-upon-Hull, or Hull, f., 1486; suppressed and refounded by Ed. VI.—C., ii., 830. Order confirmed by Elizabeth.—S. I. C., xviii., 457.
- Kingston-upon-Thames, endowed, 1561, upon petition of bailiffs, freemen, and inhabitants.—Roots, *The Charters of the Town of Kingston-upon-Thames*, 85–97. L. P., 1564.—C., ii., 575.
- Kinver, endowed 1571, and 1592.—S. I. C., xv., 420.
- Kirkby Lonsdale. L. P. of foundation, 1591.—C., ii., 721.
- Kirkby Stephen. L. P. of foundation, 1566.—C., ii., 714.
- Kirton in Lindsay, f., 1577, by decree of Court of Exchequer.—S. I. C., xvi., 250.
- Lancaster.^a School first mentioned in the records of the Corporation as a chantry school, 1495.—Simpson, *History of Lancaster*, 332. Record of increase in salary of usher, 1615.—S. I. C., i., App., 38.
- Laughton, f., 1578, by L. P.—S. I. C., i., App., 38.
- Lavenham. George Ruggle (1575–1622), author of *Ignoramus*, pupil.—D. N. B., xlix., 392.
- Leeds, endowed, 1552, 1555, and 1595.—C., i., 502; Wardell, *The Municipal History of Leeds*, 841.
- Leicester, f., 1564, by Queen.—S. I. C., i., App., 50. House built for Master, 1575.—Thompson, *History of Leicester*, 259.
- Lewes and Southover, f., 1512; existed 1558–1603; bequest received 1611.—S. I. C., xi., 254; C., ii., 609.
- Leyland.^a Grant received from Elizabeth.—C., i., 670.
- Lichfield (St. John's Hospital Grammar School), endowed 1567.—S. I. C., xv., 428.
- Lichfield,^a f., and endowed by Ed. VI., mention made of school, 1577.—C., ii., 479–80.
- Lincoln. Union of Chapter and City schools.—C., i., 817.
- Liskeard. Commissioners of Ed. VI. report in favor of continuing school; accounts in the reign of Elizabeth include master's salary.—S. I. C., xiv., 432.
- Little Walsingham. School received benefaction, 1572.—C., ii., 178.
- Liverpool.^a Record of salary paid to master in reign of Elizabeth; record of vacancy filled, 1599.—Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool*, ii., 562; Picton, *City of Liverpool*, 100.
- London, Christ Hospital, f., 1553, by Ed. VI.—C., ii., 121; cf. Bibliography.
- London, Mercers School. Cf. works mentioned in Bibliography.
- London, Merchant Taylors, f., 1561, by Merchant Taylors.—C., ii., 49.
- London, Saint Dunstan-in-the-West, f., 1562, by Queen.—S. I. C., i. App. 49.
- London, Saint Pauls, f., 1509, by Dean Colet.—C., ii., 70.

- London, Westminster College, f., 1560, by Queen.—C., i., 90.
- Loughborough. At the time of the Reformation chantry lands were converted to school support; decree concerning school issued by Sir Nicholas Bacon, 1596.—C., i., 775; S. I. C., i., App., 39.
- Louth.⁶ New school house erected, 1557.—Goulding, *Louth*, 109. L. P., 1552 and 1564.—C., i., 822; S. I. C., xvi., 273.
- Lowestoft, f., 1571, by deed.—S. I. C., xiii., 216.
- Maidstone. L. P., 1549 and 1559.—S. I. C., xi., 68; James, *Charters of Maidstone*, 45. School mentioned in letter of Archbishop Parker to the Barons of the Exchequer, 1562.—Hook, *Lives*, iv., 456.
- Maldon, 1589.—Sir John Bramston (1577–1654), pupil.—D. N. B., VI.
- Manchester.⁶ Thomas Cogan, highmaster 1574–1600.—Axon, *Manchester*, 25.
- Mansfield. L. P. of foundation, 1561.—C., ii., 281.
- Market Bosworth. Endowed school existed before 1592.—C. C. R., xxxii., pt. 5., 183. School endowed, 1593.—C., i., 752. L. P., 1601.—S. I. C., xvi., 41.
- Marlborough. L. P., 1551.—C., ii., 744. School house “propped up,” 1576.—Wayland, *History of Marlborough*, 465.
- Martley, near Worcester, 1579.—Endowment vested in feoffees.—C., ii., 766.
- Middleton.⁶ School re-established by L. P., 1572.—C., i., 705.
- Milton Abbas,⁶ near Blandford. Decree by Commissioners of Charitable Uses, 1600. S. I. C., xiv., 94.
- Moulton, f., 1560, by John Harrox, Yeoman, native of Moulton; dispute concerning income, 1599.—C., i., 837.
- Nantwich,⁶ f., 1572; building erected.—S. I. C., xvii., 74; Hail, *History of Nantwich*, 276.
- Netherbury. School interested in dispute, 1565.—S. I. C., xiv., 117.
- Newark-upon-Trent.⁶ Feoffees convey estates to town, 1572.—S. I. C., xvi., 407.
- Newbury.⁶ Notice concerning master, 1559.—Money, *History of Newbury*, 312.
- Newcastle under Lyme, f., 1602.—S. I. C., xv.
- Newcastle upon Tyne, f., *circum* 1525; became royal foundation, 1600.—C., ii., 253.
- Newport, f., 1586. C., i., 437.
- New Woodstock, L. P., 1585 and 1599.—C., ii., 322.
- Norfolk. Sir Robert Dallington (1561–1637), master for some time in reign of Elizabeth.—D. N. B., XIII., 399.
- Normanton,⁶ endowed, 1592.—S. I. C., xviii., 190.
- Northampton, f., 1542, Thomas Chipsy, Grocer.—C., ii., 210. Gift from Cardinal Pole received, 1557.—S. I. C., xii., 355.
- North Leach, f., 1559.—C., i., 454.
- Norwich, f., before Reformation; Master’s salary increased, 1562.—C., ii., 184–85. Sir Edw. Coke (1552–1634), pupil.—D. N. B., XI., 229.

Nottingham,⁶ endowed, 1558.—C., ii., 273. School built, 1578, and rebuilt, 1596.—*Records of Borough of Nottingham*, 182.
Nuneaton, f., 1553; gift to schools, 1587.—S. I. C., xv., 715.

Oakham, f., 1587, by Robert Johnson, Archdeacon of Leicester.—S. I. C., xvi., 123. Camden, *Britain*, 525, mentions this school.

Oswestry.⁶ School in reign of Elizabeth.—Cathrall, *Oswestry*, 108.

Oundle, f., 1556.—C., ii., 214. Camden, *Britain*, 510, mentions school.

Oxford (Christ Church Cathedral School), f., 1546, by Henry VIII.; boys converted into academical students by Elizabeth.—S. I. C., xii., 248.

Peniston, f., before 1603.—S. I. C., i., App. 56.

Penrhyn,⁶ f., by Elizabeth.—C., i., 142.

Penrith. Chantry school founded, 1395, and dissolved, 1547; L. P. for foundation of grammar school, 1564.—C., i., 191.

Penwortham. School has existed since 1552.—S. I. C., xvii., 357.

Plymouth, f., *temp.* Henry VII., by Corporation.—C., i., 335. Record of school in reign of Elizabeth.—Worth, *History of Plymouth*, 271.

Pocklington, f., 1526.—C., ii., 863. School endowed, 1564.—S. I. C., xviii., 461.

Pontefract,⁶ continued by Commissioners, 1548; 1583; salary of master settled in court of Duchy of Lancaster.—S. I. C., xviii., 201.

Prescot, endowed, 1600.—S. I. C., xvii., 369.

Ratcliffe. Mr. Ward mentioned as master, 1560.—D. N. B., i., 401.

Reading, endowed by Henry VII.; L. P., 1560.—*Guilding, Records*, i., 386. W. Laud, 1573-1645, pupil.—D. N. B., XXXII., 185.

Repton, f., *temp.* Ed. VI., L. P., 1557; list of masters, 1557-1589.—C., i., 231, 235.

Richmond. L. P., 1568.—C., ii., 875.

Ringwood, f., 1586, by deed.—S. I. C., xi., 350.

Ripon, f., 1555.—C., ii., 883. School existed in reign of Elizabeth.—C. C. R., iii., 481.

Risley, endowed, *circum* 1593, by Sir Willoughby and Wife.—C., i., 237.

Rivington near Bolton, f., 1566, by Bishop of Durham.—C., i., 714.

Rochdale. Site given by Vicar of Rochdale, 1562.—S. I. C., xvii., 392. F., 1565, by Matthew Parker, D.D.—C. i., 718.

Rochester, Free Grammar School. Phineas Pitt, pupil, 1580-83.—D. N. B., xlv., 104.

Rosbury, f., before 1558; endowed by Elizabeth.—C., i., 480.

Rotherham.⁶ Decree for continuing grammar school, 1561.—S. I. C., xviii., 228. School "founded," 1584.—C., ii., 889. Robert Sanderson (1587-1663), Bishop of Lincoln, pupil.—D. N. B., L., 265.

Rothwell, near Kettering, f., 1581, by Queen.—C., ii., 223.

Rugby, f., 1567, by Lawrence Sheriff.—C., ii., 662.

Saffron Walden,⁶ Arthur Hildersam (1563-1632), pupil.—D. N. B., XXVI., 382. School endowed, 1593.—C., i., 442.

- St. Albans. Abbey school, 1195; L. P., 1553; statutes, 1570.—C., i., 508-14.
- St. Bees, or St. Beghes, or Kirkby Beacock, f., 1583, by Edmund Grindall, Archbishop of Canterbury.—C., i., 152.
- St. Edmund's Bury.⁶ School house built, 1198; present school founded by Ed. VI.; first mention of master's name, 1562.—C., ii., 513, 516. Edmund Coote, M.A., master from June 5, 1596 to May, 1597.—D. N. B., XII., 158.
- St. Giles, Holborn. Coles, the master, accused of being a catholic or a catholic sympathizer.—Calendar of State Papers, Dom., 1591-1594, 258, 262.
- St. Mary of Ottery, refounded by Henry VIII.; school mentioned, 1574.—C., i., 323, 325.
- St. Olaves in Southwark. L. P., 1570; school house built previous.—C., ii., 578.
- St. Saviour, or St. Mary Overey. L. P., 1562, granted upon petition of inhabitants who had erected a school house.—C., ii., 582.
- Salisbury, City School, f., 1569, by Queen.—C., ii., 746.
- Saltash.⁶ L. P. of foundation granted by Elizabeth.—C., i., 143.
- Sandwich, f., 1563.—Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 199.
- Scarborough, f., 1561. Lee, *The Church under Elizabeth*, 112. First record of school, 1597.—Baker *History of Scarbrough*, 300.
- Sedbergh. Chantry school founded, 1528; school refounded, 1552, by Ed. VI.—Platt, *History of Sedburgh Grammar School*. School register contains information concerning school in reign of Elizabeth.
- Seven Oaks, f., 1418. L. P., 1560.—C., i., 616-19.
- Sherborne, f., 1551, by Ed. VI.; site of school granted, 1553.—C., i., 379, 381. School endowed, 1558.—S. I. C., xiv., 127. John Falconer (1577-1656), Jesuit, pupil, 1568-1573.—D. N. B., XVIII., 161.
- Shiffnal, f., 1595, by deed.—S. I. C., i., App., 55.
- Shrewsbury, endowed, 1551, by Ed. VI.; endowed, 1571, by Queen.—C., ii., 374-75. School mentioned by Camden, 1586, as largest school in England for the education of boys.—Owen and Blakeway, *History of Shrewsbury*, i., 371, 384.
- Solihull, f., 1602.—S. I. C., i., App., 56.
- Southampton, f., 1553, by Ed. VI.—C., ii., 447. Schoolmaster mentioned, 1577.—Davies, *History of Southampton*, 312.
- Southover and Lewes. Cf. Lewes.
- Southwell,⁶ Collegiate School, mentioned as early as 1512.—C., ii., 289. Statutes, 1585.—S. I. C., xvi., 426.
- Spalding, f., 1586, by L. P.—S. I. C., xvi., 298.
- Stafford.⁶ L. P., 1572.—C., ii., 492.
- Stamford, or Stanford,⁶ f., 1548, by Act of Parliament; Robert Mylnes, master, 1592.—C., i., 848-49.
- Staveley, f., before 1601.—S. I. C., i., App., 56.
- Stevenage, f., 1558, by Thomas Allen.—C., ii., 511.
- Stone, near Stafford, f., by Thomas Allen.—C., ii., 495.
- Stow-on-the-Wold. School probably built in 1594.—S. I. C., xv., 101.

- Stradbroke. Gift from founder, 1587.—S. I. C., i., App., 54.
- Stratford-on-Avon. Endowment to Holy Cross Guild for the maintenance of schoolmaster, 1482. L. P., 1553, incorporating town as governors of the school.—S. I. C., xv., 732. Walter Roche, master about 1571.—D. N. B., LI., 351.
- Sudbury, f., 1491; existed in reign of Elizabeth.—C., ii., 533.
- Sutton Valence, f., 1578, and endowed by Wm. Lambe, Gent., at whose expense the school house was built.—C., i., 624.
- Tadcaster, f., 1559, by deed.—S. I. C., xviii., 274.
- Tamworth.⁶ Grammar school restored, and annuity formerly paid to master, granted by Queen.—C., ii., 496.
- Tarwin, f., about 1600, by will of Mr. Pickering.—S. I. C., xvii., 92.
- Tauton.⁶ Land purchased for master's salary, 1558.—S. I. C., xiv., 237.
- Tenterden.⁶ School mentioned, 1562.—Hook, *Lives*, iv., 450.
- Thame, f., 1559, by Lord Williams of Thame.—Gibbs, *History of Aylesbury*, 477. L. P., 1574.—C., ii., 312. Theophilus Higgons (1578–1659), pupil.—D. N. B., XXVI., 370.
- Thetford. Priest collated master of the school, 1328; death of master and apparent cessation of school, 1496. For some time previous to 1566 the school was supported by Sir Richard Fulmerston; soon after 1566 his heirs erected a free grammar school.—C., ii., 190.
- Tideswell, f., 1560.—S. I. C., i., App., 48.
- Tiverton, f., 1599.—C., i., 339.
- Topcliffe, near Thirsk. Commissioners allowed master £5 per annum, 1548.—S. I. C., xviii., 587. Endowment received, 1588.—C., ii., 908.
- Tunbridge, f., 1552. L. P., 1554; Act of Parliament assuring lands to school, 1572; Act of 1572 confirmed by Parliament, 1589.—C., i., 626–27.
- Uppingham, f., 1587.—S. I. C., xvi., 123. School mentioned by Camden, *Britain*, 525.
- Urswick, L. P., 1585.—S. I. C., xvii., 415.
- Uttoxeter, f., 1558, by Thomas Allen.—C., ii., 498.
- Wainfleet, f., 1484; additionally endowed, 1579.—C., i., 853–54.
- Wakefield,⁶ L. P., 1591.—C., ii., 910.
- Walthamstow, f., 1541, by Sir George Monox.—S. I. C., xiii., 87. Master one of the parties to deed dated 1599.—C. C. R., xxv., 131.
- Wantage. Act of Parliament concerning school lands, 1598.—C., i., 43.
- Warrington, established, 1526; suit in Duchy Court over possessions of school, 1607.—S. I. C., xvii., 417.
- Warton, L. P., 1595.—S. I. C., i., App., 55. Roger Dodsworth sent to this school in 1599.—D. N. B., XV., 131.
- Warwick.⁶ Record of bequest by Thomas Oaken, a Mercer in Warwick, 1573.—C., ii., 692. Bequest by master, 1594.—*Blackbook of Warwick*, 400.
- Wellingborough.⁶ Statutes, 1596.—C., ii., 227.

- Wells.⁶ Tobie Matthew (1546-1626), Archbishop of York, pupil, 1559.—D. N. B., XXXVII., 61. During the reign of Elizabeth same master taught choristers and grammar scholars.—Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, 11.
- West Lavington. 1542, date of founder's will; site bought, 1553.—S. I. C., xiv., 55.
- Wethersfield. Joseph Mead (1586-1638), pupil.—D. N. B., XXXVII., 178.
- Whalley, f., 1548, by Ed. VI.; Scholarships established for graduates of this school, 1572.—C., i., 720, 643.
- Whitchurch, f., 1550.—S. I. C., xv., 326. Statutes made in 1550 in force in 1570.—C. C. R., xxiv., 337.
- Wigan. School documents dated 1596 still in existence. Sinclair, *History of Wigan*, i., 173.
- Wimborne Minster,⁶ f., 1497; continued by Ed. VI.; refounded by L. P., 1563.—C., i., 383-85.
- Winchester College. First master engaged, 1373.—C., ii., 449. Existed in reign of Elizabeth.—Cf. Leach, *History of Winchester College*.
- Wirksworth, f., and endowed, 1575.—C., i., 239.
- Witton, near Northwich (Northwich School) f., 1558, by Sir John Dean.—C., i., 129.
- Worcester, (King's School), f., 1541, by Henry VIII.—C., ii., 776. Grammar school not separated from choir school until 1884.—*Public Schools Yearbook* (1899), 301.
- Worcester, Free Grammar School, f., and endowed, 1561, by Queen.—C., ii., 777. Robert Harris (1581-1658), pupil.—D. N. B., XXV., 23.
- Wotton under Edge.⁶ School existed in reign of Elizabeth.—C., i., 468.
- Wye. School mentioned, 1562. Hook, *Lives*, iv., 450.
- Wymondham, f., 1559, by Queen; feoffees charged with misemployment of money, 1570.—C., ii., 199.
- Yarm. L. P., 1588; school endowed, 1589.—C., ii., 915.
- Yarmouth. Record of school, 1562.—Manship, *History of Yarmouth*, 368.
- Yeovil. An old church converted into a school house at the expense of the parish, 1573.—S. I. C., xiv., 245.
- Yoresbridge, or Askrigg, near Bainbridge, f., 1601.—C., ii., 917.
- York, Cathedral School, f., 1557.—S. I. C., xviii., 418. School examined by Prebendaries at the command of Archbishop Parker.—Strype, *Parker*, ii., 22.

List of Schools believed to have existed in reign of Elizabeth, but concerning whose existence at this time data is lacking.

- Acaster.⁶ Revenues of school mentioned in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Ed. VI.—C., ii., 778.
- Birstal, f., 1556-57.—S. I. C., xviii., 51.
- Brackley. Record of Chantry school, 1528; record of conversion of chantry into Free School endowed by Crown.—C., ii., 203.

- Broomsgrove.⁶ L. P., 1557.—S. I. C., xv., 547.
 Buckingham, f., by Ed. VI.—C., i., 47.
 Burgh, or Brough under Steinmore,⁸ f., 1506. Order for payment of yearly salary to master by Receiver General, 1557.—S. I. C., xix., 326.
 Chichester, Prebendal School, f., 1497; statutes modified, 1550.—S. I. C., xi., 221.
 Clitheroe, f., and endowed by Mary; statutes, 1622.—S. I. C., xvii., 229.
 Durham,⁶ f., 1541, by Henry VIII.—C., i., 402. L. P., 1554.—S. I. C., xix., 33.
 Ely, Cathedral School, f., 1541, by Henry VIII.—C., i., 100.
 Frome, f., by Ed. VI.—C., ii., 426.
 Gloucester, Cathedral School, f., before 1545 by Henry VIII.—C., i., 449.
 Hampton, f., 1556.—C., ii., 118.
 Hemsworth, f., 1546.—C., ii., 818.
 Holt, L. P., 1554.—S. I. C., xiii., 316.
 Ilminster. School mentioned in deed dated 1550.—C., ii., 427.
 Kings Norton. School ordered continued by Commissioners, 1548.—C., ii., 768.
 Kirkby near Richmond, or Kirkby Ravensworth, f., 1555.—C., ii., 836.
 Knutsford, f., before the Reformation.—C., i., 111.
 Ledbury. Supposed to have been founded at the Reformation.—C., i., 502.
 Leominster, f., 1554, by Mary.—S. I. C., xv., 228.
 Ludlow.⁸ Lands of Palmers' Guild of the Blessed Virgin granted to the Corporation for support of school, 1552.—C., i., 752.
 Macclesfield.⁶ L. P., 1552.—C., i., 117.
 Melton Mowbray, f., before 1547.—C., i., 778.
 Morpeth,⁸ f., 1552, by Ed. VI.—C., ii., 249. Hodgson, *Morpeth*, 36.
 Old Malton, f., 1546.—C., ii., 858.
 Peterborough, f., 1541, by Henry VIII.—C., ii., 220.
 Preston, f., by Ed. VI.—Hardwick, *Preston*, 487. Entry, 1612, in *White Book*, municipal records concerning school.—S. I. C., xvii., 373.
 Rock,⁸ endowed by Ed. VI.—C., ii., 770.
 Rochester, Cathedral Grammar School, f., 1542, by Henry VIII.—C., i., 590.
 Skipton in Craven, f., 1548.—C., ii., 901.
 Spilsby, L. P., 1550.—S. I. C., xvi., 303.

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- Stepney, St. Dunstan's or Coopers' School, f., 1540; trust surrendered to Coopers' Co., 1552.—S. I. C., x., 75.
Stockport,¹ f., 1487.—C., i., 125. School house given town for school and £40 for master, 1607.—Gastrell's *Notitia Cestriensis*, 302.
Stoke, f., about 1535, by Matthew Parker, D.D.—C., ii., 532.
Stourbridge,² f., 1553, by Ed. VI.—C., ii., 772.
Sutton Coldfield, f., 1540; record of master's appointment, 1548.—C., ii., 687-88.
Totnes, f., and supported by Corporation, 1554.—C., i., 360.
Towcester.³ Chantry converted into school, 1549.—C., ii., 224.
Walsall. L. P., 1554.—Willmore, *History of Walsall*, 209.
Wellington. School continued by Commissioners, 1549.—C., ii., 397.
Winchcombe, existed in reign of Henry VIII.—S. I. C., i., App. 43.
Wisbeck. L. P., 1548.—C., i., 101.
Wordsborough, endowed by Henry VIII.—S. I. C., xviii., 302.
York, Holgate's School, f., 1546.—C., ii., 919.

List of Schools whose existence in the reign of Elizabeth is doubtful, but whose existence is known before and after that reign.

- Bingley. 1529.—S. I. C., i., App. 41.
Blechingley, 1556.—S. I. C., i., App. 50.
Blissworth. Mentioned in report of commission, 1549.—C., ii., 202.
Bradford,⁴ f., as early as 1553.—C., ii., 790. Allowance withdrawn, 1569.—S. I. C., i., App. 51.
Cuckfield,⁵ f., 1528-9.—C., ii., 594.
Dilthorne, 1532.—S. I. C., i., App. 41.
Earls Colne, f., 1519.—C., i., 430.
Ewelme, f., between 1422-61.—C., ii., 301.
Northallerton.⁶ Record of presentation of master, 1385.—C., ii., 860.
Oxford, Magdalen College School, f., 1480.—S. I. C., xii., 250.
Rolleston, f., 1520.—C., ii., 486.
Wolverhampton,⁷ f., 1515.—C., ii., 501.

¹ f., abbreviation for founded.

² C., abbreviation for Carlisle.

³ D. N. B., abbreviation for *Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁴ L. P., abbreviation for Letters Patent.

⁵ S. I. C., abbreviation for *Schools Inquiry Commission Reports*.

⁶ School mentioned in list given by Leach in his *English Schools at the Reformation*.

⁷ C. C. R., abbreviation for *Charity Commissioners' Report*.

APPENDIX B.¹

Value of Annuity.				Value of Annuity.				Value of Annuity.			
£.	s.	d.	Place.	£.	s.	d.	Place.	£.	s.	d.	Place.
3	4	11	Rothewell	10	0	0	Leicester ^s	17	13	3	Launceston ⁷
3	18	0	Leyland ²	10	13	2	Tamworth	20	0	0	Cheltenham ⁵
5	4	10	Darlington	13	6	8	Stone ⁴	20	0	0	Daventry ^a
5	6	8	Bodmin	13	6	8	Uttoxeter ⁴	20	0	0	Halsted ⁵
6	0	0	Penrith	13	6	8	Stevenage ⁴	26	1	8	Salisbury
6	18	0	Penrhyn	13	6	8	Chesterfield ⁵	28	0	0	Sutton Valence ⁵
7	0	0	Saltash	16	14	11	Bromyard ⁸	38	13	4	Ipswich ⁸

¹ The authority unless otherwise designated, is the same as that quoted for the school in Appendix A. The donor is the Crown unless otherwise designated. The dates are within the reign of Elizabeth.

² S. I. C., xvii., 307.

³ C., i., 770.

⁴ Thomas Allen, donor.

⁵ Private individual, donor.

⁶ C., i., 483.

⁷ C., i., 139.

⁸ C. C. R., xix., 465.

APPENDIX C.¹

Annual Value of Land.				Annual Value of Land.			
£.	s.	d.	School.	£.	s.	d.	School.
10	0	0	Great Blencow	21	10	0	Barton-under-Needwood
10	0	0	Dean	23	10	0	Newport
10	13	4	Highgate ²	24	13	4	Rugby ⁴
11	4	8	Ashby de la Zouch	30	0	0	Rivington
14	0	0	Elmdon	30	0	0	Dronfield
20	0	0	Cheltenham	40	0	0	Wymondham
20	0	0	Dedham	41	9	7	Reading ⁵
20	0	0	Kirkby Lonsdale ³	45	7	6	Coventry ⁶

¹ The authority, unless otherwise specified, is the same as that quoted for the school in Appendix A. The donor is in each case a private individual unless otherwise specified. The dates are within the reign of Elizabeth.

² S. I. C., xii., 35.

³ This rent-charge was purchased for £200 by the governors of the school.—S. I. C., xix., 367.

⁴ Staunton, 354.

⁵ Crown, donor.—C., i., 36.

⁶ Poole, *Coventry*, 251.

APPENDIX D.¹

School.	School.	School.
Ashby de la Zouch, 14	Gillingham, ^a 12	Tiverton, ^a 27
Biddenden, 20	Kimbolton, 6	Wellingborough, ^a 16
Broughton in Preston, ² 6	Moulton	Whitchurch, ⁴ 12
Crewkerne ²	Newport ^a	Witton ²
Dean ³	Rugby, ⁴ 2	Wymondham

¹ The authority, unless otherwise specified, is the same as that quoted for the school in Appendix A. The number immediately following the name of the school represents the number of feoffees. The dates are within the reign of Elizabeth.

² Feoffees had the right to appoint and dismiss master.

³ S. I. C., xix., 200.

⁴ Feoffees had the right to appoint master.

^a Feoffees had the right to appoint master.—C. C. R., xxiv., 47.

^b There appears to have been no limit to the number of feoffees to be appointed.

⁷ Staunton, 302.

⁸ Feoffees had the right to make statutes, and appoint and dismiss master and usher. The "lower limit" was 13.—C., i., 341.

⁹ Lower "limit," 5.

APPENDIX E¹

Bedford, ² S. I. C., xii., 449.	Maidstone, ¹² James, <i>Maidstone</i> , 45.
Chesterfield, ³ C. C. R., xix., 146.	Marlborough, ¹⁵ Waylen, 464.
Colchester, ⁴ C. C. R., xxxii., pt. 1.	Morpeth, ¹⁶ Hodgson, 36.
Coventry, ⁵ C. C. R., xxviii., 118.	Newark, S. I. C., xvi., 407.
Derby, ⁶ C. C. R., xvii., 5.	Norwich, ⁵ C., ii., 184.
East Retford, ⁷ C. C. R., iv., 187.	Nottingham, C. C. R., xx., 387.
Faversham, ⁸ C., i., 575.	Plymouth, C. C. R., v., 237.
Great Grimsby, ⁸ C. C. R., xxxii., pt. 4., 422.	Pontefract, C. C. R., xxxii., pt. 2, 810.
Guildford, ¹⁰ C., ii., 566.	Preston, ¹⁸ S. I. C., xvii., 373.
High Wycombe, ¹¹ C. C. R., xxvi., 150.	Richmond, ⁹ C., ii., 876.
Ipswich, ¹² S. I. C., xiii., 191.	St. Albans, C. C. R., xxv., 177.
King's Lynn, ⁵ C. C. R., xxviii., 25.	Salisbury, ⁵ C. C. R., xxvi., 366.
Kingston-on-Hull, S. I. C., xviii., 475.	Sandwich, ⁹ Boys, 224.
Leicester, ⁹ C. C. R., xxxii., pt. 4., 2.	Shrewsbury, ¹⁷ C., ii., 375.
Leominster, ¹⁸ C. C. R., xxxii., pt. 2.	Southampton, C. C. R., xii., 166.
Ludlow, ¹⁴ C., ii., 351.	Stafford, ¹² C., ii., 491.
	Tamworth, C. C. R., xii., 543.
	Woodstock, C., ii., 322.

¹ The authority follows immediately the name of the school. The dates are within the reign of Elizabeth unless otherwise specified.

² 1553.

³ Corporation consisted of mayor, alderman, and burgesses. They had the power to make statutes and to appoint the master.

⁴ Corporation consisted of bailiffs and burgesses, who had power to appoint master.

⁵ Power to appoint staff.

⁶ Power to appoint staff, 1554.

⁷ 1552.

⁸ Corporation consisted of mayor, jurats, and commonalty, who had power to make statutes.

⁹ Power to appoint master.

¹⁰ Corporation consisted of mayor and approved men, who had power to make statutes, 1553.

¹¹ Corporation consisted of mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses, who had power to make statutes and appoint master.

¹² Power to make statutes.

¹³ 1554.

¹⁴ 1552.

¹⁵ 1550.

¹⁶ No date given; *cf.* Morpeth, Appendix A.; *cf.* Preston, Appendix A.

¹⁷ Governors consisted of bailiffs, burgesses, and Bishop of Lichfield.

APPENDIX F¹

Alford (10)⁴ C. i., 780.

Appleby (10)⁴ C. ii., 695.

Ashborne⁷ (15)⁵ C. i., 207; C. C. R., xix., 6-7.

Atherstone (12)⁴ C. ii., 615-16.

Birmingham⁷ (20)⁴ C. ii., 621-22. C. C. R., xx., 647-49.¹⁰

Blackburn (50)⁴ S. I. C., xviii., 174.

Boxford (37)⁵ C. C. R., xx., 552.

Bruton⁷ (12)³ C. ii., 14.¹¹

Bunbury (12) C. C. R., x., 193.

Chelmsford⁷ (4)⁴ C. C. R. xxxii., pt. i.¹¹

Cheveley⁷ (5)³ C. C. R., xxxi., 94.

Chipping Barnet (24)⁵ C. i., 531. C. C. R., xxv., 379; S. I. C., xii., 106.

Clitheroe⁷ (6)⁴ C. C. R., xv., 74-75.¹⁵

Cranbrook (13) C. i., 571.

Crediton (12) C. i., 257.

Darlington⁷ (4)⁵ S. I. C., xix., 23.

Dedham (24)⁵ C. i., 428. C. C. R., xxviii., 216.

Drayton in Hales⁵ C. C. R., xxiv., 300.¹²

Dronfield C. C. R. xviii., 198.

Findon (12) *cf.* Appendix A.

Gainsborough⁷ (12)⁵ C. C. R., xxxii., pt. iv., 440.

Giggleswick⁷ (8)⁴ C. ii., 801.¹³

Godmanchester (15) C. C. R., xxiv., 96.

Guisborough (15) C. C. R., viii., 725.

Halifax⁷ (12)⁴ C. C. R., xviii., 569.

Harrow (6) C. ii., 127.

Hartlebury⁵ (20)⁴ C. ii., 758.

Hawkeshead⁵, Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 474.

Hexham (12)⁵ C. C. R., xxiii., 478.

Highgate⁷ (6)³ C. ii., 162. S. I. C., xii., 34.

Houghton le Spring (2)² C. i., 404.

Horncastle (10) C. ii., 695.

Kingston-upon-Thames⁷ (2)⁴ C. ii., 574.

Kirkby Lonsdale (24)³ C. C. R., vii., 544.

Louth ⁷ (7) ⁴ C., i., 823, 825. ¹⁰	Sherborne (20) ⁴ C. C. R., xxx., 105. ¹⁴
Mansfield ⁶ C. C. R., xxv., 379.	Spalding (4) C. C. R., xxxii., pt. 4, 113.
Market Bosworth (10) C., i., 752.	Stourbridge ⁸ (8) ⁴ C. C. R., xxv., 570. ¹⁸
Newcastle-upon-Tyne C., ii., 253.	Urswick (12) ⁸ C. C. R., iii., 228.
Nuneaton ⁷ (12) ⁸ C. C. R., xxix., 982. ¹³	Wakefield (14) ⁴ C., ii., 910-11.
Redgrave (2) C. C. R., xxii., 150-51.	Walsall ⁷ (10) ⁸ C., ii., 499. ¹⁸
Rivington (6) C., i., 715.	Wantage (12) S. I. C., xi., 432.
St. Bees (7) ⁴ S. I. C., xix., 30.	Wimborne (12) C. C. R., xxx., 53.
St. Edmund's Bury ⁴ (16) C. C. R., xxiii., 529. ¹⁸	Worcester (6, 5, or 4) ⁴ C. C. R., xix., 519; C., i., 385.
St. Olaves ⁹ (16) ⁴ C. C. R., x., 116.	Yarm (12) ⁸ C., ii., 915. C. C. R., viii., 750.
St. Mary Overey ⁸ (6) ⁸ C., ii., 583.	
Sedbergh (12) Platt, <i>Sedbergh</i> , 53 ¹⁰ .	
Seven Oaks ⁷ (6) ⁴ C., i., 617.	

¹ Figures in parentheses immediately following the name of school represent the number of governors in corporation. Dates, unless otherwise specified, are within reign of Elizabeth.

² Governors had power to make statutes for the school.

³ Governors had power to make statutes for the school and to appoint master.

⁴ Governors had power to make statutes for the school and to appoint teaching staff.

⁵ Governors had power to make statutes and to appoint and dismiss teaching staff.

⁶ Governors had power to appoint master.

⁷ Statutes were to be made with the advice and consent of the bishop of the diocese in which school was situated.

⁸ Statutes were to be made and master appointed with the advice of the bishop of the diocese.

⁹ Statutes were to be made and staff appointed with the advice of the bishop of the diocese.

¹⁰ Date, 1552.

¹¹ Date, 1551.

¹² Date, 1556.

¹³ Date, 1553.

¹⁴ Date, 1550.

¹⁵ No date given; *cf.* Clitheroe, Appendix A.

¹⁶ Date within reign of Ed. VI.

APPENDIX G

Accounts of George Winnington and Richard Dean, bailiff feoffees of the school at Witton in 1596.¹

"By the last account it appeareth that the bailiff's charge is now £43 19s. 3d., whereof 58s. 3d. is in money, and the bills remaining with

them amount to £41 12s., as appeareth by the particulars following;" (the names of nine persons among whom this sum was at interest follow.)

	£	s.	d.
"Received in rents.....	9	19	4
Received for Walling this year.....	7	4	0
Interest money.....	1	10	0
Received of Robert Fox for 4 "peecyngs" walled, since Christmas last, after 14s. the "peecyngs".....	2	16	0
	£21	9	4
Payments out:	£	s.	d.
To the Schoolmaster.....	16	0	0
Mr. Venables, for the Chamber.....		6	8
Charges in law and otherwise, to get in the School Money, as appeareth by the Particulars.....	1	9	10
Paid to a Councillor for drawing a new Feoffment, and to his Clerk for engrossing the same.....		15	0
Spent at Chester about that business.....		3	8
Spent at the Execution of the Feoffment.....		3	4
Spent by Richard Dean in collecting the Rents.....		3	8
	£19	2	2"

¹ Quoted in C. C. R., xxxi., 444.

APPENDIX H

STATEMENT OF THE REVENUES OF SCHOOL AT HARTLEBURY FOR THE YEAR 1557-58.¹

"The Account of *John Walker* and *William Norton*, Collectors of the Rent and Revenues of all Lands and Tenements belonging to the School of *Hartlebury* from the Feast of the Annunciation of our Lady the Virgin, in the year of our Lord 1557, for one whole year next after ended at the Annunciation of our Lady 1558, made upon Palme Sunday the same year:—

	s.	d.
Receipt, Imprimis received of ready money in the box.....	35	8½
" Item of Thomas Smyth of Elmely Lovett, for one year's rent for a messuage and certain lands there called Gerves Place, ended at Michaelmas last....	6	8
" Item of Elizabeth Snowden and John Luccocke, for a messuage and a yard-land, lying by Stoure Side in the parish of Hartlebury, called Perey's Land, one year's rent, ended at said feast.....	2	½

	s.	d.
Receipt, Item of William Manning for a messuage and yard-land, lying in Whitling, one year's rent due at the said feast.....	12	0
" Item of Thomas Smyth of Hartlebury, for four butts of land in the Quarry Field, one year's rent due at the said feast.....		2
" Item of William Thorn, for an acre of land, lying in the Spowte Field, one year's rent due at the said feast..		3
" Item of John Thorne of Whitling, and Francis Dudmassy, for one yard-land called Tynfield, one year's rent due at the said feast.....	13	4
" Item of John Manning of Whitling, for a messuage and yard-land in Whitling, one year's rent ended at the said feast.....	12	
" Item of John Highway of Rushocke, for a messuage and certain lands lying in Rushocke, one year's rent due at said feast.....	11	
" Item of Francis Walker of Kidderminster, for a house and burgage in Kidderminster in Worster-street, one year's rent due at the said feast.....	6	8
" Item of John Hopkins and Francis Thorne, for one meadow lying by Stoures Side, called Chaunter's Meadow, one year's rent due at the said feast....	11	
" Item of Francis Best and Thomas Best, for one leasowe and two meadows lying together in Elmeley, called The Base Ground, one year's rent ended at the Feast of the Purification of our Lady the Virgin last past.	40	4
" Item of Anthony Harward, for one messuage and half yard-land called Rowles, one year's rent, end at last	26	8
Sum Total.....	£9	0 10

"Alloc"—Memorandum, the schoolmaster this year had the school-house and the close, garden and orchard adjoining to his own use."

¹ Quoted in C. C. R., xxvi., 631.

APPENDIX I

LICENSE GRANTED BY ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT IN 1585 TO JOSEPH BROWN, B.A. (*Grammar*).

"*ad instruend. erudiend. et informand. quoscunque pueros in literis grammaticalibus, aliisque documentis licitis et honestis; ac de jure, legibus et statutis hujus regni Anglae in ea parte permissis et approbatis, in quocunque loco publico vel private tuo arbitrio, eligend. &c. in et per dioc.*

Winton et Cicesmorum probitate et diligentia plurimum confidimus, licentiam, &c. ad nostrum beneplacitum, tantum modo duraturam, &c.

A license granted by Archbishop Whitgift to Stephen Woodcock (reading and writing) is the same with the exception of the necessary change at the beginning, "*in facultate legendi ac scribendi, aliisque documentis, &c.*"¹

LICENSE GRANTED BY ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT IN 1599 TO SWETNAM,
TO TEACH CHILDREN.

"John by divine providence Archbishop of Canterbury, of all England Primate and Metropolitan; to all Christian people to whom these presents shall come, sendeth greetings in our Lord God everlasting. These are to let you understand, that upon receipt of sufficient testimony of the good life and conversation of William Swetnam, of the parish of St. Margaret Patens in London, fishmonger; and upon further examination of him, being first sworn in due form to the supremacy of the Queen's most excellent Majesty, and subscribing to the Articles agreed upon by the Clergy in anno 1562, we have licensed, and by these presents do license the said William Swetnam, to teach and instruct children in the principles of reading, and introduction into the *accidence*; and also to write, and to cast accounts, in any parish within the city of London, or our peculiar Churches of Canterbury, within the said city. Enjoyning him, that every week he do instruct his children and scholars in the Catechism made and set forth by Mr. Alexander Nowel, now Dean of the cathedral church of St. Paul in London: and that he with his scholars, so many as shall be of the parish where he shall teach, do usually and commonly resort and repair, on all *sabbaths* and *festival* days, to the church of the parish where he shall so teach: and he with his scholars do reverently hear Divine service and sermons, and dutifully and diligently attend thereunto, And also we will, this our license to endure, during his good behavior, and our pleasure; and no otherways. In witness whereof, we have caused this our seal of our office of principal registry to be put hereunto. Dated this 20th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1599, and of our translation the 16th."²

¹ Quoted in Strype's *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*, Vol. I., 468-69.

² Regist. Whitg., Vol. III., fol. 105b. Quoted in full by Strype in his *Life of Whitgift*, Vol. III., Appendix, p. 384.

APPENDIX J

Among the Articles to be enquired of in the Archbishop's metropolitanical visitation was the following item.

"Item, Whether your schoolmasters be of sincere religion, and diligence in teaching and bringing up of youth. Whether they teach any other grammar than such as is appointed by the Queen's Majesties Injunctions, annexed unto the same."—Strype, *Life of Parker*, iii., 32.

Among the "Articles to be inquired of in the metropolitical visitation of the most reverend father in God, Matthew, in all and singular cathedral and collegiate churches within his province of Canterbury," is the following item:

"Item, Whether your grammar school be well ordered? Whether the number of children thereof be furnished? How many wanteth; and by whose default? Whether they be diligently and godly brought up in the fear of God, and wholesome doctrine? Whether any of them have ben receyved for money or rewards; and by whom? Whether the statuts, foundations, and other ordinances touching the same grammar school, and the schoolmaster, and scholars thereof, or any other having doing or interest therein, be kept? by whom is it not observed; by whose fault?"—Strype, *Life of Parker*, Vol. iii., 155.

Among the Injunctions of Archbishop Grindle to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of the Diocese of Bangor (1576) was the following:

"Item, That the said Dean and Prebendaries diligently and carefully look quarterly, that schoolmasters, ushers, and scholars of the grammar school there erected, observe and keep the statutes and ordinances of the same school. And that once every year a full and perfect account be made of all the revenues belonging to the said school, before the Bishop there, or his substitute, the first week of November yearly without any fraud, delay or collusion."—Strype, *Life of Grindle*, 317.

Letter of Queen's Council to Archbishop Grindle, June 18, 1580.

"And for as much as a great deal of the corruption in religion grown throughout the realm, proceedeth of lewd schoolmasters, that teach and instruct children as well publicly as privately in men's houses; infecting eachwhere the youth without regard had unto (a matter . . . chiefly to be looked into by every Bishop within his diocese) it is thought meet for redress thereof, that you cause all such schoolmasters as have charge of children, to be by the Bishop of the diocese, or such as he shall appoint, examined touching their religion: and if they shall be found corrupt and unworthy, to be displaced, and proceeded withal as other recusants; and fit and sound persons placed in their rooms."—Strype, *Life of Grindle*, 378; also Cardwell's *Annals*, vol. i., 394.

Among the Articles of Inquiry issued by Archbishop Grindle, June 21, 1580, to his officers making inquisition throughout his diocese were the following items:

"4. *Item*, What schoolmasters are within your parish, and what their names are that teach publicly or privately within any man's house within your parish, of what state, calling, or condition soever he or they be; in whose house or houses any such schoolmaster or teacher is.

"5. *Item*, Whether any such schoolmaster, or schoolmasters, is reported, known, or suspected to be backward in the religion now established by the laws of this realm, that are thought any way to be secret hinderers thereof." Strype, *Life of Grindley*, 379. Also Cardwell's *Annals*, i., 395.

Among Archbishop Grindley's directions for inquiry in his diocese in 1581 was the following:

"VII. *Item*, You shall inquire whether any schoolmaster of suspected religion or that is not licensed to teach by the bishop or ordinary doth teach in any public or private place within the diocese." Cardwell's *Annals*, i., 404.

Among the Articles of visitation of the diocese of Chichester, *sede vacante*, issued in 1585 by authority of Archbishop Whitgift was the following:

"VIII., Whether doth any in your parish teach children publicly or in any mans house privately? is such licensed by the ordinary; is he known to resort to public services and to be of sound religion; doth he teach the catechism to his scholars which was set out for that purpose; and doth he train up his scholars in the knowledge of true religion now established and in obedience to the Prince or no." Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, Appendix, vol. iii., 179. Also Cardwell's *Annals*, ii., 7.

Among Archbishop Whitgift's articles of visitation to be enquired of by the churchwardens and "sworne men" in the ordinary visitation of the lord archbishop of Canterbury within the diocese of Sarum, 1588, was the following:

"XIII. *Item*. Whether you do know any schoolmaster that doth teach within your parish without license of his ordinarie under his seal or no?" Cardwell's *Annals*, vol. ii., 15.

APPENDIX K

Copy of a letter from Sir John Dean, founder of the School at Witton, to a friend concerning some trouble in the election of the master at Witton.¹

"After my hertie comondacons, whereas I am crediblie enformed by the report of Mr. John Maisterson and Philip Downes, your neybourers and parishioners, that there is contencon amongst you about the noatinge and choosinge of a schoolmaster in your towne; I have thought good, as one to whome me thinke the thing being by me founded apperteyneth, to require and will you, that in your contencon you have some regard to my meanyng in the foundation and therewithall to dispose the same upon some virtuous and learned, and ahable man for that purpose, leaving your affections asside, and bynde your elecon simplie upon the statutes of the same schoole, which were not devised without the godlie and discreet advise of the learned. And the same statutes, hanging in

the schole, were openlye redde in the church at my last being there, th' effect whereof in this parte is, that he shall be chosen and admitted by the bishopp of Chester for the tyme being,² or else by the schole-master of the Free-schole in the cite of Chester aforesaid, which ordre methinks you should not breake. The premises well wayd ad consideredd, I prairie you send me up the statutes hither to London, to th' intent I may set my hande to them in confyрмаcon, and in the meane tyme those that you have, to hange them up in the schole; further you shall understand my meanyng and will is, that 2 feoffees shall be chosen to receyve the rentes of the landes, and shall give account yerelye for the same to the other feoffees and to the churchwardens of Wytton for the time being;³ and that those two bailiff feoffees, together with the churchwardens aforesaid, shall, from tyme to tyme, yerely, surveye the reparac'ons necessary to be done, and make declarac'ons thereof to the rest of the feoffees. And besides theyes myn entent and meynyng is, that this my letter shall be redde in your church to th' end your hool parishe may knowe my minde in the same, and thus I bydd you hertylye farewell.

Dated to 30th daie of August 1561.

From your loving friend,

Sir John Dean,

Pson of great

Seynt Barthylmew's."

¹ Quoted in full in C. C. R., xxxi., 443.

² The section treating this subject in the statutes reads:

"Also, because friendship and ignorance might be an occasion that oftentimes the Schollars be frustrate of a Master as aforesaid, I will that those Feoffees and certain honest men of the Parish of Witton aforesaid, shall present, such a one as they procure and elect, before his admission into the School, to the Bishop of Chester, and to the Schoolmaster thereof (*The Kings' School*) for the time being, to be examined of them and to be found and thought meet for that vocation." Statutes, 1558. Carlisle, i., 130.

³ For copy of Accounts of Bailiff Feoffees, 1596, cf. Appendix G.

APPENDIX L.

I. ANNUAL SALARIES OF MASTERS AND USHERS.

S=Statutes. L=Letters Patent. D=Deed.

	Master.			Usher.			Authority.
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
Alnwick.....	4	1	8	..	..	.. Eliz.	Tate, <i>Alnwick</i> , ii., 73.
Aldenharn.....	20	0	0	..	200	0 1595	S., S. I. C., xii., 66.
Andover.....	16	0	0	..	..	.. 1569	D., C., ii., 437.
Aylesham.....	10	0	0	5	13	4 1554	D., S. I. C., xiii., 347.
Barton under Needwood...	13	6	8	5	13	4 1593	D., C. C. R., vii., 303.
Berkhamsted.....	17	6	8	8	13	4 1549	Act of Parliament, S. I. C. xii., 78

	Master.			Usher.			Date.	Authority.
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.		
Biddenden.....	13	6	8	6	14	4	1566	D., S. I. C., xi., 21.
Blackrod.....	8	0	0	..	..	..	1567	C. C. R., xix., 185.
Boston.....	20	0	0	10	0	0	1585	Thompson, <i>Boston</i> , 284.
Bridgenorth.....	8	0	0	..	..	..	1547	C., ii., 340.
	20	0	0	..	..	..	Eliz.	<i>Ibid.</i>
Bridgewater.....	6	13	4	..	..	..	1561	L., C., ii., 402.
Bristol.....	13	6	8	..	..	..	1561	D., S. I. C., xv., 24.
Bromyard.....	13	14	11	..	..	..	1565	L., S. I. C., xv., 207.
Bunbury.....	20	0	0	10	0	0	1593	D., C. C. R., x., 194.
Canterbury.....	20	0	0	10	0	0	1562	Strype, <i>Parker</i> , i., 227.
Cheltenham.....	16	0	0	4	0	0	1574	D., C., i., 446.
Coventry.....	20	0	0	10	0	0	1573	D., C. C. R., xxviii., 118.
Music Master.....	2	12	0	1	6	8	1573	D., C., ii., 647.
Chester.....	16	13	4	8	10	0	1541	Gastrill's N. C., 68.
	20	0	0	10	16	8	1582	<i>Ibid.</i> , 66.
Cirencester.....	7	0	0	..	..	..	1560	S. I. C., xv., 60.
	20	0	0	..	..	..	1573	<i>Ibid.</i>
Crediton.....	13	6	8	..	..	..	1559	L., C., i., 257.
Croydon ¹	20	0	0	..	..	..	1600	C. C. R., xxxi., 872.
Daventry.....	15	0	0	5	0	0	1576	D., C. C. R., xiii., 9.
Dean.....	10	0	0	..	..	..	1596	D., S. I. C., xix., 200.
Dedham.....	20	0	0	..	..	..	1579	S., S. I. C., xxvii., 217.
Derby.....	13	6	8	..	..	..	Mary	L., Simpson, <i>Derby</i> , i., 478.
Drayton.....	13	6	8	6	13	4	1556	D., C. C. R., xxiv., 301.
East Adderbury.....	13	6	8	..	..	..	1589	D., C., ii., 292.
East Retford.....	10	0	0	5	0	0	1552	S., C., ii., 286.
Eye (Corporation).....	10	0	0	..	..	..	1566	Constitution of Borough., C. C. R., xxii., 140.
Felsted.....	20	0	0	10	0	0	1564	D., C. C. R., xxix., pt. 1., 206.
Fotheringham.....	20	0	0	..	..	..	Eliz.	L., C. C. R., xxiv., 204.
Gillingham.....	13	6	8	..	..	..	1599	C., i., 372.
Godmanchester.....	20	0	0	..	..	..	Eliz.	L., C., i., 555.
Grantham.....	12	0	0	..	..	..	1553	L., <i>Ibid.</i> , 805.
Guisborough.....	10	0	0	..	..	..	1561	S., C. C. R., viii., 725.
Hawkeshead.....	20	0	0	3	6	8	1588	S., Cowper, <i>Hawkeshead</i> , 482
Halsted.....	20	0	0	..	..	..	1594	D., C. C. R., xxxii., pt. 1, 754.
Hexham.....	{ Revenues of School }			4	0	0	Eliz.	S., C. C. R., xxiii., 479.
Higham Ferrers.....				10	0	0	1547	C., ii., 209.
Ipswich (Crown).....	24	6	8	14	6	8	1565	L., C. C. R., xix., 465.
Kendle.....	19	5	8	..	..	..	1582	C., ii., 711.
King's Lynn (Cor.).....	13	6	8	..	..	..	1594	C. C. R., xxviii., 25.
King's Norton (Crown)....	10	0	0	5	0	0	Ed.VI.	C., ii., 768.
Kirkby Stephen.....	10	0	0	1	5	7	1566	S., C., ii., 717, 719.
Knutsford.....	5	6	8	..	..	..	1549	L., S. I. C., xvii., 46.
Leicester (Crown).....	10	0	0	..	..	..	1564	L., C. C. R., xxxii., pt. 5., 2.
Lichfield (Crown).....	6	13	4	5	10	11	1552	L., C., ii., 479.
Added End.....	3	6	8	1	13	4	1555	D., <i>Ibid.</i> , 479.
Total Stipend.....	10	0	0	7	4	3	1555	

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	Master.			Usher.			Date.	Authority.
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.		
Lincoln (Cath. Cor.).....	20	0	0	..	..	..	1583	D., C. C. R., xxxii., pt. 5., 4.
(Town Cor.).....	6	0	0	13	6	8	1583	<i>Ibid.</i> 4.
Total Stipend.....	26	6	8					
Liverpool (Cor.).....	10	0	0	..	..	..	Eliz.	Picton, <i>Liverpool</i> , 104.
Louth.....	20	0	0	10	0	0	1552	C., i., 822.
Lowestoft.....	13	6	8	..	..	..	1571	S. I. C., xiii., 216.
Maidstone.....	9	6	8	..	..	..	1562	Strype, <i>Parker</i> , 228.
Marlborough.....	13	6	8	..	..	..	Eliz.	Wayland, <i>Marlborough</i> , 465.
Merchant Taylors School, London Co.....	10	0	0	10	0	0	1561	S., C., ii., 59.
Middleton.....	13	6	8	6	13	4	1572	L., C., i., 706.
Normanton.....	10	0	0	..	..	..	1594	D., S. I. C., xviii., 190.
Newbury (Cor.).....	12	0	0	..	..	..	Eliz.	Money, <i>Newbury</i> , 213.
Norwich (Town Cor.)....	10	0	0	6	13	4	1547	C., ii., 185.
(Town Cor.)....	20	0	0	6	13	4	1562	C., ii., 185.
(Cath. Cor.)....	13	6	8	..	..	..	1567	Strype, <i>Parker</i> , i., 493.
Total Stipend.....	33	6	8	6	13	4	1567	
Nuneaton.....	10	0	0	..	..	..	1553	L., C. C. R., xxix., 982.
Oakham.....	24	0	0	12	0	0	1587	L., S. I. C., xvi., 123.
Oundle.....	18	0	0	6	12	0	1556	D., C., ii., 214-17.
Plymouth.....	20	0	0	..	..	..	1573	L., C. C. R., vi., 227.
Pontefract (Crown).....	20	0	0	5	7	2	1583	C. C. R., xxxii., pt. 2., 810.
Reading (Cor.).....	10	0	0	..	..	..	Eliz.	Coates, <i>Reading</i> , 312.
Redgrave.....	20	0	0	8	0	0	1576	S., C. C. R., xxii., 151.
Ringwood.....	13	6	8	..	..	..	1586	D., C. C. R., xiv., 530.
Risley.....	6	13	4 ²	..	..	..	1593	C., i., 237.
Rochdale Archbish., Can- terbury.....	15	0	0 ⁸	..	..	..	1565	D., C. C. R., xix., 267.
St. Albans.....	20	0	0	..	..	..	1570	S., C., i., 515-16.
Saint Bees.....	20	0	0	..	..	..	1583	S., C., i., 156
St. Dunstan's, Stepney....	10	0	0	6	13	4	1552	D., S. I. C., xi., 75.
St. Saviour (Crown).....	10	0	0	..	..	..	1545	L., C., i., 325.
Salisbury (City School)...	26	1	8	..	..	..	1569	L., S. I. C., xiv., 43.
Sandwich.....	20	0	0	10	0	0	1580	S., Boys, <i>Sandwich</i> , 223.
Seven Oaks.....	3	6	8	..	..	..	1574	S., C., i., 619.
Shrewsbury (1st. M.).....	40	0	0	..	..	..	1571	S., Staunton, <i>Great Schools of England</i> , 419.
(2nd. M.).....	30	0	0	..	..	..	1571	<i>Ibid.</i>
(3rd. M.).....	20	0	0	..	..	..	1571	<i>Ibid.</i>
(4th M.).....	10	0	0	..	..	..	1571	<i>Ibid.</i>
Southampton.....	20	0	0	..	..	..	1561	Davies, <i>Southampton</i> , 311-12.
	26	13	4 ⁴	..	..	..	1569	C. C. R., xiii., 167.
	20	0	0	..	..	..	1583	<i>Ibid.</i>
	20	0	0	..	..	..	1601	Davies, <i>Southampton</i> , 311-12.
Stevenage.....	13	6	8	..	..	..	1558	D., S. I. C., xii., 137.
Stone.....	13	6	8	..	..	..	1558	D., C., i., 516.
Stratford-on-Avon.....	20	0	0	..	..	..	1553	L., S. I. C., xv., 732.
Sutton Valence.....	20	0	0	8	0	0	1578	D., C., i., 624.
Tamworth (Crown).....	10	13	2	..	..	..	1588	L., C. C. R., xii., 543.
Tenderden.....	10	0	0	..	..	..	1562	Strype, <i>Parker</i> , i., 227-8.
Thame.....	26	13	4	13	6	8	1574	C. C. R., xxix., pt. 1., 866.

	Master. £. s. d.			Usher. £. s. d.			Date.	Authority.
Thetford.....	13	6	8	5	0	0	1576	D., C., i., 340; S. I. C., xiv., 357ff.
	20	0	0	10	0	0	1596	L., S. I. C., xvi., 123.
Tiverton.....	50	0	0	13	6	8	1599	C., i., 339.
Uppingham.....	24	0	0	12	0	0	1587	S. I. C., xvi., 123.
Uttoxeter.....	13	6	8				1558	D., C., i., 516.
Wellingborough.....	13	6	8	6	13	4	1596	S., C., ii., 227.
Wellington.....	4	17	6				Ed. VI.	C., ii., 379.
West Lavington.....	10	0	0				1597	C. C. R., v., 288.
	15	0	0				1599	L., C. C. R., xv., 55.
Whalley (Crown).....	13	6	8 ⁵				1570	C., i., 198.
Whitchurch.....	10	0	0	3	6	8	1570	S., C. C. R., xxiv., 337.
Wisbech.....	12	0	0				1548	L., C., i., 101.
Witton.....	12	0	0 ⁶				1558	S., C., i., 132.
	16	0	0				1596	C. C. R., xxi., 444.
Wye.....	13	6	8				1562	Strype, Parker, i., 227.

¹ House occupied by Master was erected by Archbishop Whitgift.—Hook's *Lives of Archbishops*, v., 166.

² This amount was to be paid out of the Manor of Wilstthrop to the minister of Risley to teach the children of the parish.—C., i., 237.

³ This amount was to be paid from tythes appropriated to school.—*Loc. cit.*

⁴ In 1569, £6 13s. 4d. of the amount was paid to master for reading weekly lecture of divinity.

⁵ Payments made by Crown from 1540 to at least 1818.—C., i., 198.

⁶ The statutes refer to this amount as "a reasonable and competent stipend."

II. GRADUATION OF ENTRANCE FEES IN SHREWSBURY.

"Item, Every scholar shall pay for his admission, viz:—

A lord's son.....	10s.
A knight's son.....	6s. 8d.
A son and heir apparent to a gentleman.....	3s. 4d.
And for every other of their sons.....	2s. 6d.
And any under those degrees above-said, and born without the county of Salop..	2s.
And any under those degrees above-said, and born in the county of Salop.....	12d.
Every burgess's son inhabitant within the town or liberties thereof or of the Abey Foregate, if he be of ability.....	4d.
The son of every other person there inhabiting.....	8d.
—Bailiffs' ordinances, 1577. Staunton, 420.	

APPENDIX M

LIST OF SCHOOLS IN WHICH GRAMMAR WAS PRESCRIBED IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.¹

Place.	Letters Patent.	Reference to volume and page of Report of Schools Inquiry Commission.
Ashborne.....	1585	xvi., 463.
Atherstone.....	1572	xv., 675.
Blackburn.....	1567	xvii., 174.
Blackrod.....	1568	xvii., 179.
Botesdale.....	1561	xiii., 129.
Boxford.....	1596	xiii., 131.

Place.	Letters Patent.	Reference to volume and page of Report of Schools Inquiry Commission.
Broughton in Preston.....	1590 ²	xviii., 194.
Bunbury.....	1594	xvii., 23.
Burnley.....	1577 ²	xvii., 202.
Burton Latimer.....	1587 ²	xii., 326.
Chesterfield.....	1594	xvii., 475.
Crewkerne.....	1577 ²	xiv., 203.
Cropredy.....	1574 ²	xii., 232.
Daresbury.....	1600 ²	xvii., 38.
Darlington.....	1563	xix., 23.
Daventry.....	1574 ²	xii., 337.
Dean.....	1596 ²	xix., 200.
Faversham.....	1576	xi., 51.
Gainsborough.....	1589	xvi., 202.
Godmanchester.....	1561	xii., 417.
Great Bardfield.....	1584 ²	xiii., 12.
Hexham.....	1599	xix., 110.
Highgate.....	1565	xii., 34.
Horncastle.....	1571	xvi., 250.
Kimbolton.....	1600 ²	xii., 425.
Kingston-on-Thames.....	1561	xi., 190.
Netherbury.....	1565	xiv., 118.
Spalding.....	1588	xvi., 298.
Sutton Valence.....	1576	xi., 98.
Tamworth.....	1588	xv., 462.
Urswick.....	1585	xvii., 416.
Wimborne.....	1562	xiv., 140.
Woodstock.....	1585 ²	xii., 281.
Wycombe.....	1562	xii., 189.
Yarm.....	1590	xviii., 594.

¹ List is not intended to be exhaustive nor does it contain cases mentioned in the text.

² Date of Deed.

APPENDIX N

AUTHORS READ AT WINCHESTER, 1550.

Lower Fourth Form.

Monday and Wednesday.

Ovid's *Tristia*, or Erasmus' *Colloquies*.

Friday.

Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

Saturday.

Ovid's *Fasti*.

Fourth Form.

Monday and Wednesday.

Cicero's *De Officiis*. Ovid's *Fasti*.

Friday.

Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

Saturday.

Nowell's Latin Catechism. Ovid's *Tristia*.

Fifth Form.

Monday.

Martial. Cicero's Tusculan Disputations.

Wednesday.

Martial. Virgil's *Æneid*, or Cicero.

Friday.

Pindar. Horace's Satires, or Epistles.

Saturday.

Nowell's Greek Catechism. Musaeus. Hesiod. Virgil.

Sixth Form.

Monday.

Martial. Robinson's Rhetoric.

Wednesday.

Martial. Virgil's *Æneid*, or Cicero.

Friday.

Homer. Terence.

Saturday.

Nowell's Greek Catechism.—Musaeus. Hesiod. Virgil.

Tuesdays and Thursdays were holidays.

The above information obtained from A. F. Leach's *History of Winchester College*, p. 273.

APPENDIX O

CURRICULUM OF ETON IN 1560.¹

LOWER OR USHER'S SCHOOL.

First Form.

The *Disticha de Moribus* of Dionysius Cato.

The *Exercitation Linguae Latinae* of John Lewis Vives.

Second Form.

Terence.

Lucian's *Dialogues* (in Latin).

Æsop's *Fables* (in Latin).

Third Form.

Terence.

Æsop's *Fables* (in Latin).

Selections by Sturmius from Cicero's *Epistles*.

UPPER OR MASTER'S SCHOOL.

Fourth Form.

Terence.

Ovid's *Tristia*.

Epigrams of Martial, Catullus, and Sir Thomas More.

Fifth Form.

Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

Horace.

Cicero's *Epistles*.

Valerius Maximus.

Lucius Florus.

Justin.

Epitome Troporum of Susenbrotus.

Sixth and Seventh Forms.

Caesar's *Commentaries*.

Cicero *de Officiis* and *de Amicitia*.

Virgil.

Lucan.

Greek Grammar.

"The lower boys had to decline and conjugate words, and their seniors had to repeat rules of grammar, for the illustration of which short phrases, called 'Vulgaria' were composed and committed to memory. Some sort of Latin composition, however brief, was a necessary portion of the daily work of every Eton scholar. In the lower forms it was confined to the literal translation of an English sentence or passage, while in the Fifth Form it consisted of a theme on a subject set by the school-master. The boys in the Sixth and Seventh Forms used to write verses."²

¹ From H. C. Maxwell-Lyte, *History of Eton College*, pp. 149-50.

² *Ibid.*, 149-50.

APPENDIX P

SPECIMEN OF A GRAMMARSCHOOL TIME TABLE DRAWN UP AT THE CLOSE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.¹

USHER'S FORMS.

First Form.

Time, 7-11 A.M.

The Royal Grammar (2; 3; 4; 5).²

Repetition of the work of the week (6).

Examination on the lecture of the previous afternoon (7).

Time, 1-5 P.M.

- English Testament, or Psalms of David in English (2; 3; 4).
- Half Holiday (5).
- Repetition of the work of the week continued (6).
- Lecture on Æsop's Fables (6).
- Writing out the Catechism in English (7).

Second Form.

Time, 7-11 A.M.

- Lecture on the Colloquies of Erasmus, or on the Dialogues of Cordierius (2; 3).
- Lecture on the Cato senior, or Cato junior (4; 5).
- Repetition of the week's lectures (6).
- Examination on the lecture of the previous afternoon (7).

Time, 1-5 P.M.

- Translation from English into Latin. Home lessons and exercises given out and prepared (2; 3; 4).
- Half Holiday (5).
- Repetition of the week's lectures continued. Lecture on Æsop's Fables (6).
- Writing out the Catechism in English. Arithmetic (7).

MASTER'S FORMS.

Third Form.

Time, 7-11 A. M.

- Lecture on the Letters of Ascham, or Sturm's Cicero's Letters, or Terence. Paraphrase of a sentence. (2).
- Lecture on Ascham, etc., as on Monday. Vulgaria in Prose. (3).
- Lecture on Palingenius, or the Psalms of Hess. Paraphrase of a sentence. (4).
- Lecture on Palingenius, or the Psalms of Hess (5).
- Vulgaria in Prose, and repetition of the week's lectures (6).
- Examination in Lecture of previous afternoon (7).

Time, 1-5 P.M.

- Latin Syntax, or Greek Grammar, or Figures of Sysenbrote. Home lessons and exercises given out and prepared (2; 3; 4).
- Half Holiday (5).
- Repetition of week's work continued. Lecture on Erasmus' Apophthegms (6).
- Catechism and New Testament.

Fourth Form.

Time, 7-11 A.M.

- Lecture on Cicero *de Senectute*, or *de Amicitia*, or on Justin (2; 3).
- Lecture on Ovid's *Tristia*, or *de Ponto*, or Seneca's Tragedies (4; 5).
- Verse Theme, and repetition of the week's lectures (6).
- Examination on lecture of previous afternoon (7).

Time, 1-5 P.M.

Prose Theme (2; 4).

Latin Syntax, or Greek Grammar, or Figures of Sysenbrote. Home lessons and exercises given out and prepared (2; 3; 4).

Half Holiday (5).

Repetition of the week's lectures continued, and Lecture on Ovid's *Fasti* (6).

Catechism and New Testament (7).

*Fifth Form.**Time, 7-11 A.M.*

Prose Theme (2; 4).

Lecture in Cicero or Sallust or Caesar's Commentaries (2; 3).

Verse Theme (3; 6).

Lecture in Virgil or Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, or Lucan (4; 5).

Repetition of the week's lectures (6).

Examination on the lecture of the previous afternoon (7).

Time, 1-5 P.M.

Latin Syntax, or Greek Grammar, or Figures of Sysenbrote. Home lessons and exercises given out and prepared (2; 3; 4).

Half Holiday (5).

Repetition of week's lectures continued, and Lecture on Horace, or Lucan, or Seneca's Tragedies (6).

Declamation on a given Subject by several senior scholars. Catechism and New Testament (7).

N.B.—Sysenbrotus. "The work of Sysenbrotus (a German, ob. 1543) here meant is, no doubt, '*Epitome troporum ac schematum et grammaticorum et rhetorum*,' of which the Bodleian Library possesses Eds. Antv. 1566, Lond. 1608 and 1635."—The Rev. J. E. B. Mayor, Librarian of the University of Cambridge, quoted by Mr. Fearon in his Report, S. I. C., vii., 262.

¹ Taken from the Report of Mr. Fearon, S. I. C., vii., 262-63.² The figures in parenthesis indicate the days of the week.

APPENDIX Q

NUMBER OF PUPILS IN VARIOUS SCHOOLS.

No. Pupils.			
Abingdon.....	70 (—) ¹	D. ²	1562 S. I. C., xi., 396.
Aldenham.....	60	S. ³	1599 Carlisle, i., 529.
Barton-under-Needwood..	70 (+) ⁴	F.W. ⁵	1593 C. C. R., vii., 303.
Bath	10 ⁶		Carlisle, ii., 400.
Berkhamsted.....	144	A.P. ⁷	1549 S. I. C., xii., 79.
Bungay.....	50	S.	1591 S. I. C., xiii., 135.
Burford.....	40 (—)	S.	1571 Monk, <i>Burford</i> , 133.
Cheltenham.....	50	D.	1586 S. I. C., xv., 33.
Colchester.....	60 (—)	S.	1584 Cromwell, <i>Colchester</i> , ii., 313
Daventry.....	50 (—)	F.W.	1576 S. I. C., xii., 337.

	No. Pupils.			
Dedham.....	20	D.	1571	Carlisle, i., 428.
Felsted.....	80	S.	1564	Carlisle, i., 432.
Halsted.....	43		1594	Carlisle i., 434.
Highgate.....	40	S.	1571	S. I. C., xii., 34.
London Merchant Taylors.....	250	S.	1561	Staunton, 212.
St. Paul's.....	153	S.	1512	Staunton, 186.
Lowestoft.....	40	D.	1571	C. C. R., xxii., 180.
Newcastle-under-Lyme... 30		F.W.	Eliz.	Carlisle., ii., 482.
Normanton.....	30 (+)	D.	1594	S. I. C., xviii., 190.
Norwich.....	90	O.C. ⁸	1566	S. I. C., xiii., 336.
Penryn.....	3 ⁹			Carlisle, i., 142.
Redgrave.....	60 (—)	S.	1576	C. C. R., xxii., 151.
Rochdale.....	59	{ D.	1564	{ S. I. C., xvii., 393.
		{ D.	1582	
St. Albans.....	120	S.	1570	Carlisle, i., 516.
St. Savior.....	100 (—)	S.	1562	Carlisle, ii., 684.
Scarborough.....	20		1597	Baker, <i>Scarborough</i> 300.
Shrewsbury.....	360		1581	Owen, <i>Shrewsbury</i> 371.
Tarvin.....	20	D.	1600	S. I. C., xvii., 92.
Tiverton.....	150	D.	1599	Carlisle, i., 340.
Worcester.....	12 ¹⁰		1561	Carlisle, ii., 777.
Yarm.....	6 ¹¹		1589	Carlisle, ii., 915.

¹ (—) = "or less."

² D. = "deed."

³ S. = "statutes."

⁴ (+) = "or more."

⁵ F.W. = "founder's will."

⁶ Founded by Ed. VI. for the education of ten poor boys gratis.

⁷ A.P. = "Act of Parliament."

⁸ O.C. = "order of court."

⁹ School endowed by Queen with £6 18s. per annum for master to teach 3 boys.

¹⁰ Founded for education of 12 boys.

¹¹ Number on the "Conger" foundation.

APPENDIX R

SCHOOL-HOUSE ERECTED IN LOUTH IN 1557-8.

Total Cost, £34 8s.

for hewing of Tymber at St. maryes church.....	xs.	
for hewing of wood ther to make seats.....	iijs.	iiij ^d
for xliij foote di [i.e. 43½ feet] of glasse to the wyndowes in the end of the Chamber at vijd. the foote.....	xxvs.	iiij ^d .
Itm for di m (500) [thacke] to the rigging of the bedehouse.....	xijjs.	ix ^d
Itm for j qater to the song scole & kirkebie house.....	iijs.	
Itm paid for xj pound of Candil after iij ^d . the pound be- stowed about the workes of the said scole.....	ijs.	ix ^d .
Itm for great nailles to the new grese.....	oi	
It. for di hundreth of tray nailles and di c of stowring naille.....		iij ^d .
jc lathe nailles.....		iiij ^d .
jc of tingle nailles & iij bunche sewing rope.....		iiij ^d .
Itm for one stocke locke to the wikitt.....		vjd.
Itm for one locke to the Jakes dore.....		vd.

Itm for iiij blake ringe to the nowill.....	iiijd.
Itm to Water Stoker & Jackson for spetchis.....	xxd.
Itm for vj barrell full of playster to the nowill.....	iiij s.
It. for hart latte to the same & to the gait.....	iijs. vd.
Itm for vij threve (bundle) of rie straw & for litter for rigging and walling.....	iijs. iiijd.
Itm pd more for one lood of rice (brushwood) to make the hedge against the paile.....	ijs.
for whiting the chamber with lyme.....	xs.
for one dayes walling the chamber from the paune of the house downward.....	xxijd.
Itm pd to Sympson and chapma for felling the rice & for hedging the same by the space of one day and a half after vj d. the day to meat and wages.....	xviij d.
Itm paid to luke for whiting the balkes and drawing the versys in the same.....	vs.
From R. W. Goulding's <i>Louth Old Corporation Records</i> , 109-10.	

APPENDIX S

DESCRIPTION OF SCHOOL HOUSE TO BE BUILT IN TIVERTON.

Date, 1599.

First floor: "a hawle, buttery and kitchin, all of convenient space and biggness to be joined unto it, with convenient roomes over the same hawle, buttery, and kitchen."

All windows were to be "well and strongly glassed and barred with iron barrs, and weel covered."

The floor of the school was to be "weel planched with plancks of oke supported and borne from the ground with strong ledges or beames, with soe many strong settles and formes as shall be convenient, having regard to the biggness of the same Schoole and the number of Schollars to be taught therein (150)."

There was to be a partition four feet high in about the middle.

The school was to be "strongly wainscotted rownde aboute," the wainscot to extend "abowte five or six foote above the settles or formes, and with such settles, formes, and seates, and in such manner to be framed, placed, and devised as shall be thought most convenient."

The Hall also was to be "plancked or paved, and also wainscotted round abowte as high as the lofte."

In the hall and chamber over it there was to be "one or other chimney," while in the kitchen there was to be "one faier great chimney with an oven." There was also to be a chimney in the chamber over the kitchen.

Adjoining to the school-house there was to be "a convenient garden and wood-yard." All was to be "well walled and inclosed with a strong wall, the goinge in and forthe to be at one only place with a fair strong gate with a little dore as is usual in the Schooles."

Founder's Will, 1599, Carlisle, i., 339.

APPENDIX T

MORNING AND EVENING PRAYERS AT EAST RETFORD.

Morning Prayer.

"O Most merciful God and giver of all understanding which, at the invocation of the faithful, hast ever given things necessary for the setting forth of thy Glory, as the examples of all ages recordeth, and for because nothing is more needful than Wisdom and Understanding we therefore congregate in this place to learn the same, most humbly beseech thee, O Eternal Father, so to illuminate our Wits and Understandings, that we may have our whole affection upon Wisdom in these years of our infancy. And furthermore may ever after receive, love, and embrace, the same, and accordingly to the precepts thereof may direct our acts, and last of all that the true Wisdom of God may so shine in all our living, as may be to the Glory and Praise of him from whom all Wisdom cometh. Grant this we beseech thee, O God, for the love of thy most dearly beloved son Jesus Christ, Our Lord and Saviour. So be it."¹

Evening Prayer.

"Lighten our darkness we beseech thee, O Lord, and by thy great Mercys defend us from all perils and dangers of this night, for the love of thy only Son our Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen."¹

¹ Statutes made by Bailiffs and Burgesses with the advice of Robert Archbishop of York, 1552, Carlisle, ii., 282.

APPENDIX U¹

Cathedral Church.	Annual Salary of Dean. ²	Annual Salary of Canons. ²	Annual Salary of Head Master. ²	Annual Salary of Under Master. ²	No. of Grammar Boys.	Annual Scholarship of Each Boy. ²	Expenses of the School per Annum. ³
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Canterbury ..	300 0 0	40 2 11	20 0 0	10 0 0	50 ⁵	4 0 0	230 0 0
Rochester. . .	100 0 0	20 0 0	13 6 8	6 11 10	20 ⁵	2 13 4	99 18 6
Peterborough	100 0 0	20 0 0	16 13 4	8 0 0	20 ⁵	2 13 4	78 0 0
Gloucester. . .	100 0 0	20 0 0	13 6 8	6 13 4		0 0 0	20 0 0
Worcester. . .	133 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	9 19 4	40 ⁵	2 13 4	136 12 8
Bristol.	100 0 0	20 0 0	13 6 8	6 13 4		0 0 0	20 0 0
Carlisle.	120 7 6	22 5 0	13 6 8	0 0 0		0 0 0	13 6 8
Chester.	100 0 0	20 0 0	16 13 4	8 0 0	24 ⁴	3 6 8	131 6 8
Winchester. . .	199 0 0	31 11 8	0 0 0	0 0 0		0 0 0	0 0 0
Durham.	266 13 4	32 5 10	10 0 0	6 13 4	18 ⁵	3 6 8	76 13 4
Ely.	120 7 6	20 0 0	16 13 4	8 0 0	24 ⁵	3 6 8	104 13 4

¹ Data of this table, unless otherwise designated, are taken from table facing p. 37, Whiston's *Cathedral Trusts and their Fulfilment*.

² Date, 1542.

³ Data for the same date taken from same authority, p. 100.

⁴ Whiston, *loc cit.* p. 94.

⁵ Cf. S. I. C., i., App. 42.

APPENDIX V

BRIEF DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR SCHOOL STATUTES.

In a large number of cases *the right to make statutes* was included among the powers granted in the Letters Patent to the corporation (*Cf.* text, p. 40), but in some cases the only authority appears to have proceeded from the will of the founder (*e.g.*, Stone, Uttoxeter, and Stevenage, Founder's Will (1558). Carlisle, ii., 498).

While in some instances as in Saint Bees (Letters Patent granted and statutes drawn up in same year. Carlisle, i., 152-3) and in Hawkeshead (Statutes drawn up three years after Letters Patent were granted, Cowper, *Hawkeshead*, 482ff) the statutes were made soon after the authority was granted, this was by no means the common case (In Hartlebury 7 years (1558-1565) elapsed between the two dates;—Carlisle ii., 758. In Grantham 18 years (1553-1571);—Carlisle, i., 805. In Alford 23 years (1576-1599);—Carlisle, i., 780. In Faversham 28 years (1576-1604);—Edward Jacob, *History of Faversham*, 55. In Birmingham 124 years (1552-1676);—Carlisle, ii., 622. In Ashborne 211 years (1585-1796);—S. I. C., xvi., 463. While Kendle (Carlisle, ii., 712), Pocklington (Carlisle, ii., 863), and Reading (Coates, *Reading*, 1315) appear to have been without written statutes as late as the beginning of the 19th century) and from the cases just cited it will appear that not a few schools must have been without written statutes during the period of our study.

The privilege of making the statutes was granted (a) to the founders (*cf.* Text, p. 17) or their heirs (*cf.* Text, p. 17), (b) to college authorities (*cf.* Text, p. 32), (c) to guilds (*cf.* Text, p. 32-33), (d) to town corporations (*cf.* Text, p. 36), (e) to incorporated governors (*cf.* Text, p. 52, also Appendix F,) (f) to men not officially connected with the school, as at St. Albans, where the statutes were made by Sir Nicholas Bacon (Statutes quoted Carlisle, i., 514), at Grantham, where they were made by Nicholas, Bishop of Lincoln, and Sir William Cecil, Knight (Carlisle, i., 806), at Wellingborough, where they were made in 1596 by Sir Thomas Egerton Knight, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal (Carlisle, ii., 227), and (g) to church dignitaries as at Colchester, where the statutes were to be made by John Lord Bishop of London and by Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul and their successors (Letters Patent, 1584; Joseph Strutt, *Colchester*, i., 119; also C. C. R., xxxii., pt. 4., 526) and at Brentwood where they were to be made by Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London and Dean Nowell (Carlisle, i., 408).

As has been noted in the text, page 52, these statutes were as a rule to be made with the advice and consent of some bishop of the church or of some other learned church dignitary, or when made were to be confirmed by such persons (*Cf.* Appendixes E and F). Thus in one of the cases just cited, (Grantham) the statutes received the confirmation of Thomas, Bishop of Lincoln, in 1571; the statutes made by the Parson, two Wardens, and four Assistants were confirmed in 1574 by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Carlisle, i., 619); while those made for the school

at Tunbridge by the Skinners' Company of London were submitted to Dean Nowell and after having been slightly corrected by him were submitted to Archbishop Parker (Carlisle, i., 627). In one of the instances in which no mention is made of the necessity of the statutes being approved by the bishop of the diocese, the statutes were to be made by the Governors of the school together with the Warden or sub-warden and six senior fellows of All Souls College, Oxford (case of Faversham given in Jacob's *History of Faversham*, 55), while in High Wycombe they were not to be at variance with the laws of the realm (Letters Patent, 1562. C. C. R., xxvi., 150).

The general purpose or aim of the statutes was to "better regulate and order" the affairs of the school as a glance at the outlines of the contents of a few will make clear. In Marlborough the mayor and burgesses were given the power "to make proper and wholesome ordinances and statutes in writing concerning the government and order of the schoolmaster and also of the scholars of the school, and other things touching or concerning the school" (James Waylen, *A History of the Town of Marlborough*, 464). The emphasis is here placed upon the educational aspect of the work of the governors. In Alford, however, the statutes were to be concerned with the financial rather than educational matters (Carlisle, i., 780). In not a few cases, the two phases are fairly well balanced. Thus in Kingston upon Thames the governors were to make "fit and salutary written statutes and ordinances concerning and touching the ordering, governing, and direction of the master and undermaster, and the school aforesaid, and the stipend and salary of the said master and under master, and other things touching and concerning the said school; and the ordering, governing, preservation, and disposal of the rents and revenues appointed and to be appointed for the maintenance of the said school" (George Roots, *The Charters of the Town of Kingston upon Thames*, 95). Similarly in Bruton the statutes and ordinances were in the language of the Letters Patent, to be "concerning and touching the order, government, and direction of the schoolmaster and scholars of the school, the nomination, constitution, and appointment of the stipend or salary of the schoolmaster, and other things touching and concerning the same school, and the order, government, preservation and disposition of the rents and revenues.....of the same school" (Letters Patent, 1551. Carlisle, ii., 417).

It has been noted (Text, p. 49, footnote 146) how the common chest was used for the preservation of the *written statutes*. These, however, were not intended to be entombed as dead letters, but were to be "observed inviolably" (James Waylen, *History of Marlborough*, 464). They were to be impressed upon governors, teachers, scholars and friends of the school. In Hawkeshead the governors upon taking office swore in their oath, "I will diligently and faithfully to the uttermost of myne Ability keep by myself and cause to be kept by others (as much as I can) inviolably all these Statutes" (For entire oath cf. Text, p. 45). In Saint Bees, at the annual meeting of the governors, the statutes were to be read before them by either master or usher (Text, p. 47). In the installation

ceremony at East Retford the master and usher were to swear in their oath, "I shall not fraudulently, maliciously, nor wittingly of my part neglect or break any Ordinance or Statute of the said School lawfully set forth and made, so far as to me doth appertain. But shall inviolately observe and keep them, and every one of them, as near as God shall give me grace" (Statutes, 1552. Carlisle, ii., 286); while under similar circumstances the master at Kirkby Stephen was to swear, "And further shall observe all the statutes and ordinances of this schoole now made, or hereafter to be made which concern me, and shall doe nothing in the prejudice thereof, but help to maintain the same from time to time during my aboad herein to the best of my power" (Founder's Statutes. Carlisle, ii., 715). One of the duties of the two governors of the school at St. Albans was to see that the orders and statutes were obeyed by the schoolmaster and scholars (Statutes, Carlisle, i., 514). In Witton, at the admission of every scholar, the schoolmaster was to read the Statutes, Orders, Rules and Laws applying to the scholar whose friends when the reading had been completed, were to promise that they would see to it that the scholar kept all the rules, etc. pertaining to him (Statutes Carlisle, i., 132. For further information about the preservation of the statutes at Witton cf. Appendix K).

In order that the statutes might be preserved *various means* were taken to *prevent their becoming lost or destroyed*. In Kirkby Stephen the founder made the following provisions for the preservation of his constitution: "And, I will and ordain that these Constitutions shall be fair written in parchment" (In the account of the expenditure of the Bridgemasters of the Borough of Nottingham for the year 1582 there is the following: "Item ye cotypes of ye charter and of ye ordinaunces of ye Free Schoole, iij. s. iiij. d."—*Records of the Borough of Nottingham*, iv., 201) "and shall be sett in a frame of wood, and the same so written and made shall be hanged in a convenient place within the chapell wherein my tomb is within the church of Kirkby Stephen, and my son and heire for the time being, to have one part of the said constitutions fair written, and that part to remain and be in my Chappell of Wharton, and a third part to remain and be in the said Free Schoole, to the intent that all manner of persons, Schoolmaster, Schollers, and others may knowe the said Constitutions for the better executing the same; and if any of the said Constitutions by the continuance of time doe frett or wear, so as the same cannot be plainly read, that then and before they be so frett or worne, they shall be fair written again upon parchment and set and kept in the said four places as before in this articule is written, and the same to be so written and order by the Governors, my son and heire or heires, and the Schoolmaster for the time being or any of them" (Statutes quoted in Carlisle, ii., 719-20).

The founder's wish with respect to his statutes was occasionally incorporated in them. The following extract from the statutes of the school at St. Bees is a forceful statement of such a wish: "*And we pray and charge the Wardens as they will answer unto God at the dreadful day of*

Judgment, that they see these Statutes Faithfully observed to the uttermost of their Power'' (Quoted in Carlisle, i., 160). Some of the statutes made at and even before this time were observed well into the 19th century (E. G., Manchester, Statutes made in 1525. S. I. C., xvii., 313).

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G. N. C.—for Gastrell, *Notitia Cestriensis*.

C. C. R.—for *Reports of the Charity Commissioners*.

S. I. C.—for *Reports of the Schools Inquiry Commission*.

Boys, *Sandwich*—for Boys, *History of Sandwich*.

Carlisle—Carlisle, *Endowed Grammar Schools*.

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